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THE
PRÁKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ĀRSHA) PRÁKRIT

EDITED BY

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE,

PH. D. TUBINGEN,

FELLOW OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, HONORARY
PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY TO THE ASIATIC
SOCIETY OF BENGAL, ETC.

Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.

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SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.

WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES
OF INDIA

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.



PREFACE.

In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS. A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS. C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS., has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks; but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS. C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS. B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted; in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chaṇḍa's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

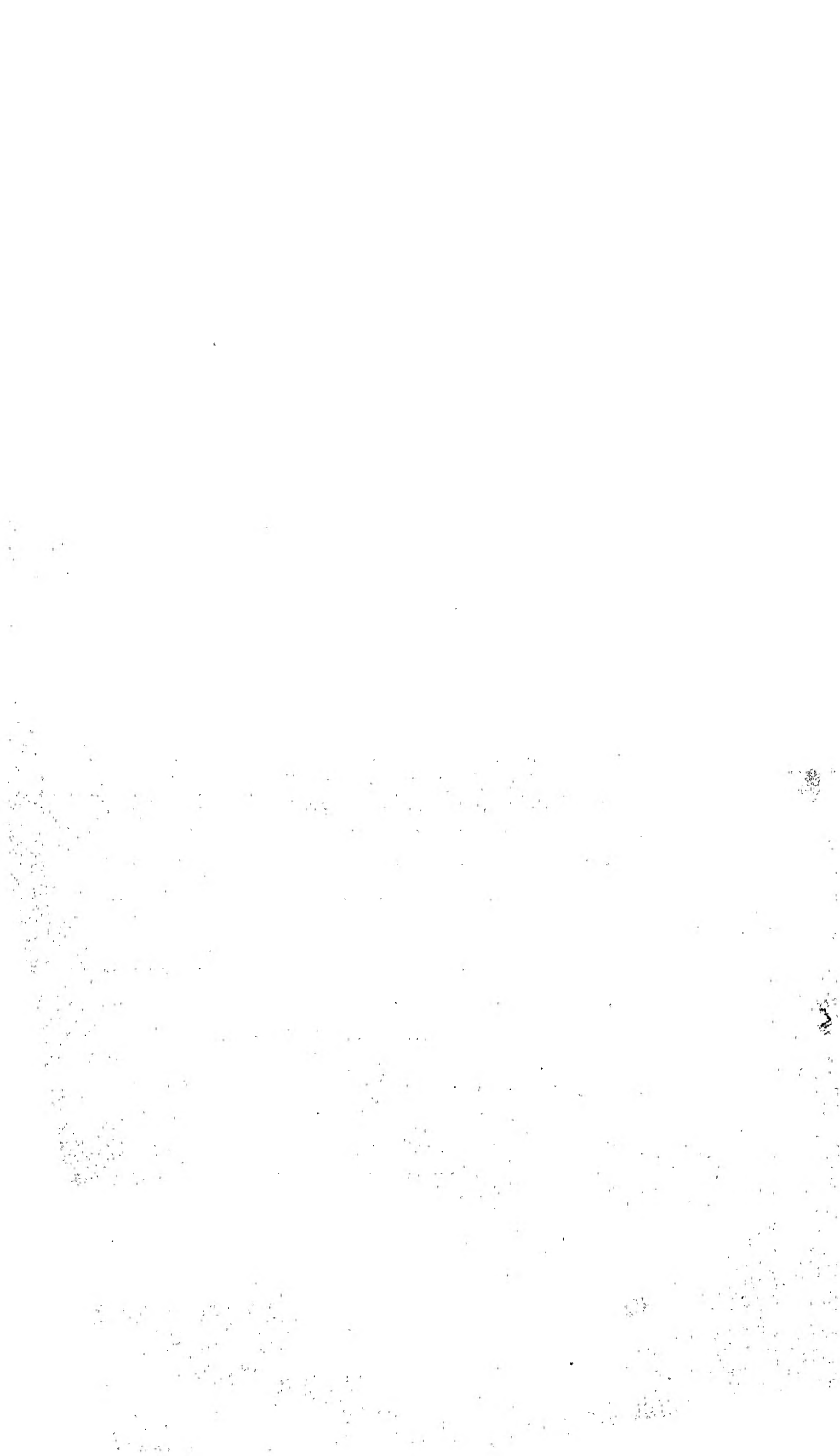
The two indexes of sūtras and Prākṛit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lāla Mitra Rai Bahādur and Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra Śāstrī in so readily placing at my service their MSS. of Chaṇḍa's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

A. F. R.-H.

Calcutta, October 1880.



INTRODUCTION.



IV

The Prākṛit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chaṇḍa. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Vīra or Mahāvīra, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prākṛit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes; assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Pāṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kaachayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following: *pāṇinibhagavān prākṛitalakṣhaṇam api vakti saṃskṛitād anyat, "ārghākṣharam cha kutrachid ekam mātrām upaiti" iti; i. e., "the blessed Pāṇini also enunciates a Prākṛit rule, different from Sanskrit, viz., that a long vowel becomes short."*† Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sūtra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Pāṇini was the author of a Prākṛit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Sūryaprajñāpti,

* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due; e. g., the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sūtra I, 5. The mere fact of Chaṇḍa treating of an old form of Prākṛit, which was afterwards modified by the Jains, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chaṇḍa with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertatio inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.

and is as follows : “ *chattāri* ” *iti cha sūtre napuṃsakatvanirdeśaḥ prākṛita-
tvāt ; prākṛite hi lingam vyabhichāri, yad āha pāṇiniḥ svaprākṛitalakṣhaṇe,
“ lingam vyabhichāry ap ” iti ; i. e.,* “ as to the form ‘ *chattāri* ’ occurring in
the sūtra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prākṛit ; for in
Prākṛit the gender is changeable, as Pāṇini has said in his (work called) Prā-
kṛitalakṣhaṇa : ‘ the gender is changeable also. ’ ” Compare with this Chanḍa’s
rule in sūtra I, 4. If our Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa is the work referred to by those
two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of
Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation,
but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind. Malayagiri’s
language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule. Among all Prākṛit
grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule. The
nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Trivikrama
III, 4, 69, *lingam atantram*, with its commentary : *apabhraṃṣe lingam atan-
tram vyabhichāri prāyo bhavati*. It seems very probable, that Malayagiri
misquotes Hemachandra’s rule and somehow or other confuses the Prākṛita-
Lakṣhaṇa with Hemachandra’s work. It may be observed, that to quote the
exact rule of the Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa, *kvachid vyatyayaḥ*, would hardly have
suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible,
whereas Hemachandra’s rule is so. A confusion of Chanḍa’s and Hemachandra’s
works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall
show in the sequel), that in all probability Chanḍa’s work was, as it were, the
frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work. It should also be
noted, that while Hemachandra’s rule is limited to the Apabhraṃṣa, Malayagiri
understands his rule to apply to Prākṛit generally. Now Chanḍa’s rule *does*
apply to Prākṛit generally. The fact, that both Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malaya-
giri ascribe the Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa to Pāṇini, is, of course, of no weight. It
merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work.
Still its traditional ascription to Pāṇini is in so far important, as it shows that
the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character
well agrees with Chanḍa’s Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa. There is another curious cir-
cumstance in Malayagiri’s Commentary, which I may mention here, as it
seems to bear on the question under notice. Weber (in his *Indische Studien*,
vol. X, p. 273) quotes another remark of that writer : *bahuvachanam prākṛi-
tatvād, uktam cha “ bahuvayane (°yaneṇa ?) dvayayam ” iti ; i. e.,* “ (the use of)
the plural is (accountable) by Prākṛit usage, for it is said that ‘ the dual
(is to be expressed) by the plural. ’ ” Compare with this Chanḍa’s rule in sūtra
II, 12, with its commentary.* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is
different (*dvivachanasya bahuvachanam*) and seems to have been taken from Vararuchi
VI, 63.

gloss of MS. C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sūtra of Chanda is always quoted in nearly the same Prākṛit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sūtras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, *e. g.*, the footnote to *sakkisāpā* in II, 1., and the footnote to *dvitvam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chanda's sūtra by his Prākṛit quotation; and if so, the same Prākṛit quotation in Malayagiri must refer to the same sūtra (of Chanda). Perhaps the fact shows that Chanda's Grammar was originally written in Prākṛit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prākṛit works; but that a few of his sūtras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prākṛit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chanda's Prākṛita Lakshana.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS. which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS. A and B are the property of Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr. Mitra on p. xix, of the Appendix to Vol. III, Part II, No. IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS.; but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the various lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS. of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr. Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Paṇḍit in Lucknow, who has since died; but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nāgarī characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS. A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS. C is a very excellent MS., beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra Śāstrī, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Koḍāyā in Kachchh (W. India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its

excellent execution. It is said to have been copied from a very old MS., 400 years old; with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died. The MS. is complete; and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text. This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sūtra of the IInd chapter. Whether this is owing to the original MS. having had no more of it, or the student who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear.* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prākṛit examples and quotations; it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms. For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus. The MS. C bears no date; but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin.

MS. D belongs to myself. It was given to me by my friend Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS. C. It is a very fair MS., though not so good as C. It is clearly and carefully written; but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes. It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page. It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS. in the possession of a Paṇḍit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar. This original MS. also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS. exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prākṛit.‡ MS. C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (निष्ठति) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself. But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sūtra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS. D, renders this improbable. In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned paṇḍit; though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably. See, e. g., the clumsy way in which sūtra OD I, 6a is drawn.

† Thus गुरुणं for गुरुणं, गिरिणं for गिरौणं, I, 5; Sanskrit जेषां for येषां in I, 3, etc.

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally. I have noticed them in other than Jain writings; e. g., in the MSS. of the Prithirāja Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prākṛit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākṛit*, pp. 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, *Kalpa Sūtra*, pp. 17-21, Klatt, *Dhanapāla's Rishabha*



1	2	3.	4	5.	6.	7.	8.
उ	कु	ण	तु	ड	स	हु	ज
o	ku	nu.	tu.	du.	su.	hu.	jh.

9	10	11.	12.	13.	14.	15
क	ख	क	ख	ख	ख	ज
j.	d.	kkh.	kkh.	kkh.	kkh.	gg.

16.	17.	18.	19	20.	21.	22	23.
ग	च	छ	ख	ज	झ	ष	झ
gn	chchh.	th.	sth	jj	jj	jjh.	jjh

24.	25	26	27.	28	29.	30
झ	झ	झ	ज	ज	म्व	म
jjh	jjh	jjh.	jjh	jjh.	jjh.	jjh.

31	32	33	34.	35.
म्	म्	म्	म्	म्
jjh	jjh	jjh	jjh.	jjh.

36	37.	38.	39.	40	41.
फ	ब	ब	ब	म	म्व
jjh.	pbh	bh	bbh.	bh or mbh.	bh or mbh.

Prākṛit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B are written in the ordinary Nāgarī of Eastern Hindūstān, but they show unmistakable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina or western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1. The symbol No. 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS. C this is always carefully distinguished from *u*. MS. D in a few cases confuses them.* But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even *ū* (or *ur*) is written; thus showing that the copyists had no notion of the meaning of that Jaina symbol.

2. In MS. C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. See Nos. 2—7.

3. The two symbols Nos. 8 or 9 for *jh* and No. 10 for *ḍ* are always carefully distinguished in C; but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nāgarī symbol *ḍ*, however, is also occasionally used in D; in C it is the usual one.

4. The substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D. In B it is found once; viz., III, 15 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣ*. On the other hand, MS. A has once the very unusual substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*; viz., III, 14 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣ*.

5. The use of the symbols *ṣ* *b* and *v* *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besum* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behim* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahū* (I, 3) and *vahū* (I, 9). MS. D has *ribū* and *rivum* (I, 3), *gāvī* and *gābī* (II, 16), &c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS. A and B are no less uncertain; thus A has *vuddhī* and *buddhiu* (I, 10), *gābī* and *gāvīhim* (II, 16); B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehim* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B prefers *v*.† As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS. C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6. There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols *ṣ* *s* and *ṣ* *ṣ*; though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely; e. g., *śīlam* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *śūra*. In D it is much more frequent; e. g., *ṣaṣi* for *śaṣi* (I, 22); *ṣmaśānam* for *śmaśānam*, *śīrśah* for *śīrśah*, &c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B, *ṣeṣe*, *hamse* *pasuta* for *ṣeṣe*, *hamse*, *paṣutta*, (IV, 39); in A *ṣiṣaṇham* for *śiṣaṇham* (I, 6). The substitution of *s* for *ṣ* is much more common than the reverse.

7. The symbols Nos. 11 or 12 for *kḥh* often occur in D. In A and B

Panchāṣikā in J. G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, pp. 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kalpa Sūtra*, pp. 137-143.

* Once D writes *ṣ* for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; e. g., *bayamu* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti kim* (III, 7), *barga* (III, 17), *barna* (III, 25).

these symbols are Nos. 13 and 14.* C always has the usual Nāgarī symbol क, which also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply ख; C never.

8. The symbol ग for *gg* is very common in the marginal gloss, though not in the text, of C. Once or twice it occurs in D. Otherwise the ordinary Nāgarī form ग is used. In the originals of A and B, however, it must have been almost universal. The copyists evidently did not know it; for they commonly write it as ग gn or गज gj; see Nos. 15 and 16. Only once does A give the correct transcription ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13).

9. The symbols, No. 17 for *chchh* and No. 18 for *tth*, are generally distinguished in C; there are only two exceptions, viz., *echchhu* for *otthu* (I, 11) and *pattham* for *pachchham* (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nāgarī symbol च for both *chchh* and *tth*; thus *pachchham* = Skr. *pathyam* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skr. *pārthah* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nāgarī च *chchh* and त *tth*; though the commonly write merely च *chh* in the place of च *chchh*. On the other hand C and D commonly write No. 17 and च respectively in the place of च *chh*.

10. The symbol of *jj* is No. 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज.

11. The symbols Nos. 22—26 or Nos. 27 and 28 for *jjh* are used in C and D. The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos. 29—36.

12. The symbol ज for *tth* is commonly used by A, B, D; rarely ट or ड. C has always ट. Similarly the symbols ड or ढ for *ddh* are commonly used by all four MSS. I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards *writing* them; though, doubtlessly, they were always *pronounced* correctly (according to the rules Ch. III, 26. Vr. III, 51. H. C. II, 90). Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate. A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate. Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS. of Chanda. I have met with every one of them in the MSS. of the Prithirāj Rasan. Thus the symbol No. 37 is strictly *pbh*, while Nos. 38 or 39 are *bbh*. Similarly Nos. 13 and 14 (in the Prithirāj च) are strictly *kkh*, while Nos. 11 and 12 are *kkh*.

13. The symbols क, ख, घ, ङ, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhagavati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*avalekhanam*). The latter were in MS. W of the *Prakāśa Prakāśa*, as noted by Cowell, p. 20, (sutra 20).

originals. It may be observed that, as a rule, च *dh* is a mistake for च *chch* and च *gh* for च *vv*; thus the former occurs in A सचिय (II, 17) for सचिय, B चाच (III, 9) for चाच; the latter in B पघतः (III, 9) for पघतः. The occasional use of च or च for च is peculiar to D; e. g., कच for कच (III, 2), पुचो for पुचो (C D III, 15a).

14. The symbol No. 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh*. MS. D has No. 38; and A B have Nos. 29, 40 and 41.

15. The mis-spelled symbol च *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D. In A it is very rare; in C it never occurs.

16. The symbol स or सु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvāra, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1); never in C and D. In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvāra, in conjuncts; e. g., *lingaṇcha* (I, 2), *hiṇcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *kinte* (I, 23), *jalanti* (I, 12), *vambhaṇā* (II, 12), &c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prakrit observable in the MSS. are two:

1. The presence of the dental न *n*. In MSS. A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word. In MSS. C and D, न is every where changed to ण, in accordance with the commoner Prakrit usage (see Vr. II, 42). This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS. C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B; compare, e. g., their introductory salutation, and their additions in sūtra I, 5.*

2. The so-called *ya-gruti*, i. e., the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one. This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS.

The text presented in these four MSS. differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS. and from the list of sūtras appended to this edition. The MSS. may be divided into two classes. The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D; but while the former MSS. contain 99 sūtras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sūtras distributed into four chapters. The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS., expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary.† On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p. xxiv.

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D; that of the latter two MSS. being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence: others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sūtras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sūtra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS. A and B, sūtra I, 19 तुमं सौ सविमक्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तु र च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुमं mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sūtras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sūtras, placing them thus: I, 19. तुमं सौ सविमक्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जचि, I, 20 अमि तु र च. But when the sūtras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुम्हे of the preceding sūtra is also to be understood in the last sūtra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually *insert* into the last sūtra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sūtra to अमि तु र तुमं त च (see App. C D, p. 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sūtra but to a part of the sūtra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sūtra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant स् in the sūtras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sūtras (III, 1—9); the remaining sūtras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants; the intermediate sūtra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division.* In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct save one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chanda next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sūtras are concerned, is recognised; it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial; or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chāṇḍa rules that every *single* श् or ष *sh* changes to स *s* in Prākṛit (III, 18); so that as regards *single* consonants, स *s* represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chāṇḍa has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स *s*. Thus we have sūtra III, 14 सकारस्य खङ्क्षाः, illustrated by दश = दक्ष; again sūtra III, 39 सागधिकायां रसयोर् लघौ, illustrated by शेषः = श्रेषे. Here श् *s* and ष *sh* are indicated by स *s*, because by sūtra III, 18 they are no more श् *s* and ष *sh*, but have been already changed to स *s*; that is, दश = दस = दक्ष, and शेषः = सेषे = श्रेषे.* This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sūtra III, 18. In that part, स *s* cannot represent the whole sibilant class; for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chāṇḍa elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant श् *s*; most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (श्, ष, स). Thus in sūtra III, 2 श्वलोभो ब्रज्जनं, श् represents स in शर्ग = सर्ग, and श् in श्रोतव्यं = श्रोतव्यं. That is, व *v* and र *r* are respectively elided after स *s* and श् *s*; next स *s* and श् *s*, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where श् *s* at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into स *s*; while स *s*, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chāṇḍa follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sūtra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sūtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of श् *s* and स *s*. Consequently they use स *s* throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants श् *s* and ष *sh* practically do not exist, having at once changed to स *s*.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and सेषे are here introduced by a silent reference to sūtra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prākṛit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sūtra I, 259, where he rules that the *v* of *svapna* becomes *m*; but in reality the *p* of *svapna*, having become *v* by silent reference to sūtra I, 231, becomes *m*. That the *p*, not the *v*, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sūtras I, 46 and II, 103.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sūtra III, 23, but though that sūtra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as parts of a *conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not स *s*, but श् *s*.

Thus C D read *सवलेभ्यो यञनं* in sūtra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example *ओतव्यं* = *ओतव्यं*; that is, they make *च s* to indicate *श् s*, because, according to them, *ओतव्यं* changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into *ओतव्यं*; whereupon *र r* is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two; but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan; for with the exception of those two sūtras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sūtra III, 8 *षाट् टः*, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to *साट् टः*. For just as in the previous case *ओतव्यं* becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, *ओतव्यं*, so here *षाट्* becomes by the same rule *साट्*; next *च s* would be elided. So that, consistently, *च s* should here have been written to represent *ष sh*. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sūtra *षाट् टः* is correct; it could not have been spelled *शाट् टः*, because the sibilant *ष sh* is the only (*conjunct*) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter as between Chanda and his Revisionists stands thus: Chanda uses *श् s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally; hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use *श् s*, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses *च s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but *च s*, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chanda's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than *च*) as an indicatory in any sūtra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but *च s*, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated; but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS. B spells *लसौ* for *लसौ* in sūtra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored *श् s* in all sūtras, in which the original plan of Chanda requires it; i. e., in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

* The only two Prākṛit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a *sanjñā* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Subhachandra. The former uses *शु su* (T. V.

Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sūtra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prākṛit language, than the wording of the same sūtra in MSS. C and D; and this circumstance is confirmed by sūtras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sūtra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Śaurasenī dialect, that is, by the omission of sūtra III, 39a which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Māhārāshṭrī; a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sūtra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to ह (with the exception of क k and ख kh), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sūtras, as they stand in A B, with the same sūtras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc. ड $ḍ$ and ढ $ḍh$), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to ह . I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS. B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chanḍa presents a very old phase of the Prākṛit language, and that the MS. A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form; but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7.); the latter has मि (S. C. I, 1. 7). Chanḍa's संज्ञा म म is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add u or $varga$ to a consonant, in order to form a संज्ञा (e. g., कु or कवर्ग for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chanḍa's sign may really have been म or मि ; in sūtra III, 4, MS. B reads सो , which may be an error for सो (सो); and सो would be the locative of म or मि ; see the footnote to translation of sūtra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chanda's grammar; but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chanda untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prākṛit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chanda's rule III, 11 च *th* changes to च *dh*; by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथः *nāthaḥ* to change into नाथेः *nātho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided; by way of illustration we have सुई *sui* for सुचिः *śuchiḥ*, वाचो *vāo* for वानः *vātaḥ*, नेउरं *neuram* for नूपुरं *nūpuram*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar.* It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies; and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp. IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS., especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself.†

* Another instance is sūtra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*; but one of the examples given is *buddhi* for *buddhiḥ*. Similarly according to sūtras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prākṛit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk. *bhis* becoming Prāk. *hi*; the examples, however, are *aggḥi*, *mahḥi* for *aggīhi*, *mahīhi* = Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, *madrubhiḥ*. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, I may quote Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa sūtra (p. 4), "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Pāli is a more archaic language than the Prākṛit of the Jains. The fact is true, but it proves nothing. For the form of the Jaina sūtras was fixed only one thousand years after Mahāvīra's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sūtras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1). With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following :—

First.—There is (as already noticed on p. xi) the direct evidence of sūtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *h* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds.

Second.—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c., shows that, *as a rule*, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided ; precisely what Chanḍa's rules III, 12, 34 indicate.

Third.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS. A and B in a few cases still retain an original *नः*. Thus in II, 26 A B read भे छतं । लया छतं ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे कतं । लया कतं ॥ The copyist, not recognising कतं as a Prākṛit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into छतं. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prākṛit form कतं, but objecting to it on the score of obsolescence, changed it into the correct later Prākṛit form कयं. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding कदं (or even कयं) in his original, changed it into छतं. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondered at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text.

Fourth.—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D ; it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e. g.*, कतं into कयं, than कदं ; for though कतं could not possibly have been later Prākṛit, कदं might have been so. If they had found कदं or अच्छदि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prākṛit is not altogether unknown ; but if they found कतं or अच्छति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कयं and अच्छद्, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.—Chanḍa's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability ; some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so ; but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory ; it enjoins the change of न न to ण न ; but as a matter of fact, an initial न न never changes to ण न, and even a medial न न does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact ; but as it is a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

of those who handed down the sūtras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp. 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17,

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional.* The case of rule III, 12 is similar; it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क *k* to ग *g* was a comparatively exceptional occurrence; on the other hand the change of ट *t* to ड *d* must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त *t* to द *d*, and of प *p* to व *v*, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations; and for the reasons given under Nos. 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, i. e., as a rule त *t* and प *p* were retained. On the other hand, the retention of क *k* must have been comparatively exceptional; as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग *g*.

Sixth.—In sūtra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of *vāt* “like”, there is also mentioned *jahā*. Now *jahā* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathā*. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a surd aspirated च *th* to च *h*, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahā* for particular notice. But if च *th* at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to च *dh*, then *jahā* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chanḍa’s grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every *th* to *h*, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jahā* to remain in the sūtra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sūtra into his grammar (see H. C. II, 182), omitted *jahā*.†

There is, in sūtra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chanḍa the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sūtra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* “thus” changes in Prākṛit to *iya*. If it had been usual at that time to elide all surd unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sūtra than that the

* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chanḍa’s Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p. VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar.

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chanḍa and his Revisionists,

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandra in his grammar (see H. C. I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial *त* *t*; accordingly, seeing that Chanḍa's sūtra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chanḍa's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chanḍa's sūtra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sūtras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh.—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chanḍa spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (त) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (ब). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chanḍa, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chanḍa which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (त); among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once.† Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases; among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to ब).‡ But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sūtras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS. agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sūtras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS.; thus, of B in sūtra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softenings are, कद् in the special sūtra III, 11 and हवदि in the Māgadhī sūtra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sūtra. The retention is in पलानं in sūtra I, 23. A retains त in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26, III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23, II, 26, III, 9, 23, 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेउरं, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case; perhaps already existing in Chanḍa's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेवुरं in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss); though it has नेउरं in III, 34. In one case (पुनरु अपि II, 10) D retains प; so also A once (रूप I, 17); these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain ट (I, 3 पौटं). [N. B.—पुणरवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sūtra (compare the terms of sūtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sūtra in the Text); and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sūtra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sūtra III, 22 (from यवयोर् अत्यासः to यवयोर् अ०) and inserted an altogether new sūtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sūtras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists; compare H. C. I, 177, 231, and Vr. II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sūtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sūtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sūtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *kh* in sūtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sūtra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*; thus, in the examples of sūtra III, 11, they change both य *th* and ख *kh* to ह *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *kh* in sūtra III, 13 is superfluous; accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it; they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sūtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sūtra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order; compare H. C. I, 187, 236 and Vr. II, 27, 26.

(2). Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in sūtra I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sūtra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe*; but in sūtra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe*. Chaṇḍa cannot possibly have written the same word in both sūtras; that would be contrary to the whole genius of sūtra-writing; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one sūtra: *tubbhe* (or *tumbhe*) *jaṣṣasoḥ*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS. A and B the conjuncts *mbh*, *bhh* and *jḥ* are perpetually confused; the two symbols भ् or भ* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिम्भा for

* Once or twice also भ् and भ; these are clearly only due to careless writing.

चिन्हा III, 2, जिम्हा for जिन्हा III, 1, वम्भो for वज्जो III, 20; सम्भारं for सम्भार III, 8, सम्भ for सम्भ I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prakrit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them.* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS. A and B were copied from an original MS. written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sūtras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nāgarī symbol. Since however the two sūtras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols. The question is, which were they, from among the three. As to sūtra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy; it must have contained the symbol for *bḥh*. For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sūtra I, 22 (and also in 23 where the word re-occurs). On this point C and D may be trusted; the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters; the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing; and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bḥh* with those for *jḥh* or *mḥh*. The case is more complicated as to sūtra I, 21. Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading. Yet indirectly their reading *tumhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tujḥhe* should have done so. Even at the present day *mḥ* and *mḥh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars. In Hindī, e. g., *thāmhai* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhai*. For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbhe* in I, 22.

(3). For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *i* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar. If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanda are correct, it would follow that his Prakrit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pāli. This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanda's Prakrit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pāli. It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mḥh* to those for *bḥh* and *jḥh* is strikingly shown in sūtra III, 2, where C appears to read *sijḥā* and D *sibḥā* for *simḥā*.

with Pāli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate; but it differs from Pāli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates; the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS. may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chanda's Prākṛit represents an older phonetic stage than even Pāli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *ā*, *ī* and *ū*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chanda's Prākṛit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Pāli as well as the later Prākṛit shorten it; e. g., Skr. and Ch. *gaṅgām*, but Pā. and Pr. *gaṅgam*; Skr. *nadīm*, Ch. *naīm*, but Pā. *nadim*, Pr. *naīm*; Skr. *mām* "me", Ch. *mām*, but Pā. *mam*, Pr. *maṃ*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prākṛit (see Vr. V, 21. H. C. III, 36); so also Kachchayana for the Pāli (see Kach. II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chanda; a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3.*

It may now be asked, what language this old Prākṛit of Chanda may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Arshaṃ* of Hemachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "ārsha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rishis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this Arsha Prākṛit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chanda's rules are only permissive; i. e., they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability; they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Māgadhī Prākṛit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (*porāṇam*) or ārsha

* The rule Kach. II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *ā*; those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chanda's sūtra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *ā*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of C D, who write *gaṅgam* and *tam*, but *naīm*. But it is very improbable that in Chanda's Prākṛit *ī* should have remained long, while *ā* was shortened. Either all three (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *ī* and *ū* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gaṅgām*, *tvām*; for these are due to sandhi (*gaṅgā + am*, *tvā + am*).

† *Rshānām idam ārshaṃ*.

‡ H. C. I, 3. *ārshaṃ prākṛitam bahulam bhavati*.

§ H. C. I, 3. *ārshaḥ hi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante*.

Prākṛit, in common with the Arddhamāgadhī Prākṛit which it follows, agrees with the Māgadhī in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the Arddhamāgadhī, the phrase *kayare āgachchhāi* "which of the two has come." The *porāṇa* or *ārsha* form of it would be, *katare āgachchhati*.* Now this is the very example, which is given in Chanda's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10, that the nom. sing. may end in *e*. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statement, that by the term *ārsha* he understands that ancient (*porāṇa*) form of the Prākṛit language which included what in his day was called the Arddhamāgadhī, and which, while agreeing with the Māgadhī as regards the termination *e* of the nom. sing., but differing from it with regard to the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Māgadhī, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Māhārāshṭrī. Or to put it in another way: Arddhamāgadhī is the same as Māhārāshṭrī in all respects, except the nom. sing. in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Māgadhī; on the other hand Māgadhī is identical with Arddhamāgadhī in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar to the former. If we now substitute the short name *Arsha* in the place of Arddhamāgadhī *plus* Māhārāshṭrī (of which jointly the *Arsha* is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chanda's Grammar. He speaks of four Prākṛits, *viz.*, the Prākṛit, the Māgadhī, the Pāṣācī and the Apabhraṃṣa. He omits all mention of the so-called Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī; further his rules on the Prākṛit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in *e*; while he makes his Māgadhī to differ from his Prākṛit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prākṛit of Chanda is the *ārsha* or ancient (*porāṇa*) form of the Arddhamāgadhī, Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī.†

* Hemachandra's words are: *yad api "porāṇam arddhamāgadhābhāshāniyayam haviṣṭam" ity ādina ārshasya arddhamāgadhābhāshāniyatatvam āmnāyi vṛddhais tad api prāyo 'sya eva vidhānāt, na vakshyamāṇalakṣaṇasya; i. e., "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamāgadhī,' that may be also understood of the present rule (viz. H. C. 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones."* Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine; though the general tenor is the same. (See *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 17.) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Māgadhī."

† As a minor evidence of Chanda's Prākṛit being the *Arsha*, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chāṇḍa's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into Arddhamāgadhī, Mahārāshṭrī and Śauraseni probably did not yet exist; but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) Prākṛit. By the side of this great or standard Prākṛit, however, there existed two other Prākṛits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prākṛit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prākṛits were the Māgadhī and the Apabhraṃṣa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively; that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prākṛits in Chāṇḍa's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp. III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Aśoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 43.* "The Inscriptions of Aśoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same*† throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of Pāli (or Prākṛit) in the time of Aśoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjābī or north-western dialect, the Ujjenī or middle dialect, and the Māgadhī or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjābī or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*"; that of the Māgadhī or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted." (Corp. I. I. pp. 43, 44.) If we substitute Apabhraṃṣa for General Cunningham's Panjābī, we have almost the very words of Chāṇḍa's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

fact, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the Arsha, are given as ordinary forms by Chāṇḍa; e. g., *kaṭṭu* II, 19, cf. H. C. II, 146; *suḥumam* or *suhamam* III, 30, cf. H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 221. (quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 109, 132).

† The italics in the extract are mine.

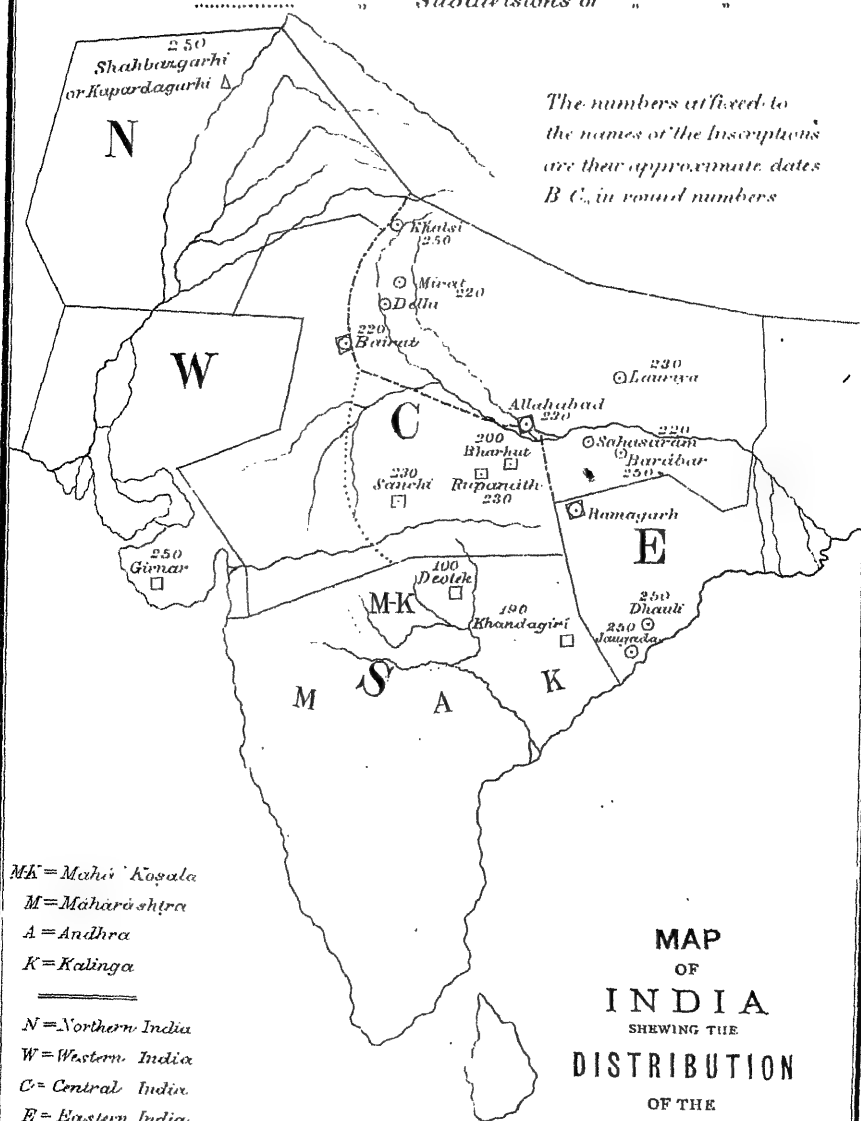


□	Inscriptions with <i>l</i> and <i>r</i> , and <i>e</i>
○	" " " <i>l</i> " " <i>e</i>
◻	" " " <i>r</i> " " <i>e</i>
□	" " " <i>r</i> " " <i>o</i>
△	" " " Subjoint <i>r</i> " " <i>o</i>

----- Boundary of Eastern and Western Prākṛit

----- Subdivisions of " "

The numbers affixed to the names of the inscriptions are their approximate dates B.C. in round numbers



MK = Mahā Kōṣala
M = Maharashtra
A = Andhra
K = Kalinga

N = Northern India
W = Western India
C = Central India
E = Eastern India
S = Southern India

MAP
OF
INDIA
SHEWING THE
DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
IN
B.C. 300—I.

posed at a somewhat later time; for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chāṇḍa, than in that of the time of Aśoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions.*

As to the Paisācī, mentioned by Chāṇḍa in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paisācī, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prākṛit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population.

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prākṛit languages, named by Chāṇḍa. One of the principal peculiarities of the Māgadhī or Eastern Prākṛit, mentioned by Chāṇḍa, is the substitution of *l* for *r*.† This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasaram, Barābar, Rāmagaṛh, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (see Map).‡ At Bairāt, one inscription shows it, the other does not; and the same is the case at Allahābād. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairāt, thence eastward to Allahābād and again southward by Rāmagaṛh to Jaugaḍa, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Māgadhī, and the Western or Chāṇḍa's Standard Prākṛit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prākṛit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Mahārāshṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃṣa Prākṛit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Shāhbāzgaṛhī Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chāṇḍa to that Prākṛit, *viz.* the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chāṇḍa mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prākṛit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rūpanāth show the termination *e*, while

* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sūtra, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chāṇḍa's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prākṛit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p. 19, also p. 4). This seems to be indicated by Chāṇḍa's sūtra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal *ṣ* for the dental *s*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence; except one of them at Rāmagaṛh, which has *ṣ* throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

those of Gīrnār, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Bairāt, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Māgadhi area, will approximately divide the *e*-area of the Western Prākṛit from its *o*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Ārddhamāgadhi Prākṛit, because this Prākṛit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Māgadhi. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times come to be called, the Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī Prākṛits. The Paisācī must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prākṛit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chaṇḍa's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chaṇḍa's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sūtra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idam*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *sim* in the genitive plural; but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*".* The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi; because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *sim* to the singular and plural respectively; and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chaṇḍa's statement in his sūtra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idam* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural".† The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chaṇḍa. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

* *Idam-tadōr āmāpi se ādeṣam kaṣchid ihoḥhṭati*, H. C. III, 81.

† *Tadidamōḥ se śaśṭhī-rūpānam*, Ch. I, 17.

Hemachandra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 6a with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prākṛit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H. C. III, 137).^{*} Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prākṛit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhraṃṣa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 27l with H. C. IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes; whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it.[†] The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sūtra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *ā*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sūtra III, 8 still preserves it. But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sūtras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8. Two of them, indeed, *viz.*, I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch. II, 1a and I, 1b. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sūtra II, 1b in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8, while II, 1c in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 6. That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sūtra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sūtra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sūtra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sūtra II, 1b, as it is not preceded by any sūtra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prākṛit forms in the text of the MS. A B makes for the antiquity of the latter. For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark.

† Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation. I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sūtras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sūtra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prākṛit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sūtra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done; (see H. C. I, 177 and compare the examples). This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place. See also the footnote on p. xiv.

sūtra. This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sūtra IV, 353 is found in MS. C, but not in MS. D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sūtra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS. D has only *one* sūtra less than MS. C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sūtra I, 11a ought to be supplied in D.* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chaṇḍa, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr. V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chaṇḍa. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prākṛit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them. (See remarks on p. xxv). On the other hand the terms of Vr. II, 2 as compared with those of Ch. III, 34 in MSS. A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chaṇḍa. But as to whether he was acquainted with Chaṇḍa's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable.

A SKETCH OF CHAṆḌA'S GRAMMAR,

COMPARED WITH THOSE OF VARARUCHI AND HEMACHANDRA.

1, VOWELS.

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prākṛit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa.

In common with the later, the old Prākṛit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels; *ṛi* (II, 5), *ai* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding *ṛi*, *lṛi*, *ḷi*, but they seem to be included in the term *rvarṇasya* (II, 5).

* A similar accidental omission of sūtra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS. B.

Instead of *ri*, either the syllable *ri* or any other vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5).

Instead of *ai* either *āi* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *āu* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9): but not *i*, *ī* and *u*, as in later Prākṛit.

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prākṛit possesses, there are the following two broad laws:

1. *A long vowel (á, í, ú) preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened (a, i, u),* II, 3. Hemachandra's rule, H. C. I, 84, corresponds to this; Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p. 185.

2. *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2); e. g., *deva* + *indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Ārsha the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda*.* There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra; they apparently did not acknowledge it. But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prākṛit; thus in the Bhagavatī occur ~~gogavāco~~ = Skr. ~~yogavayogā~~, *appusue* = Skr. *alpotsukāḥ*, *paḍuppanna* = Skr. *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttaram* = Skr. *saptottaram*, (see Weber's edition, pp. 386, 406, 408, 427).

On the other hand the later Prākṛit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chāṇḍa. Thus we have *gīṇhati* in Ch. III, 23 for *geṇhāi* in H. C. IV, 209.

For the rest, *vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges*, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1). It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chāṇḍa in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prākṛit.

2, CONSONANTS.

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prākṛit of Chāṇḍa differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1. The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word. This follows from sūtra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Ārsha sentence, *devinda iṇam abbavi* see H. C. III, 162.

when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the uniform spelling of the Prākṛit examples with *n* in MSS. A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of *n* to *ṇ* does occur in the older Prākṛit (III, 16). But, the almost general rule of the latter is to follow the Sanskrit usage, to change *n* to *ṇ* only in those cases where the change would occur in Sanskrit under the influence of a preceding (cerebral) *ṛi*, *r* or *śk*. The Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 42) as well as the practice of the Revisionists exhibits the exact counterpart; *viz.*, a uniform substitution of the cerebral *ṇ* for the dental *n*. Hemachandra's Prākṛit (the so-called Jaina Prākṛit) exhibits a practice more approaching to that of Chaṇḍa; *viz.*, dental *n* may be preserved when double medial or single initial, but is changed to *ṇ*, when single medial (H. C. I, 228, 229). Still the difference is marked, and Hemachandra knew it; for he points it out himself.*

2. The preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants, with the only exception of *k* which may be elided. This follows from sūtra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sūtra in C D III, 34. But *ṭ* was not unfrequently, and *ṭ* and *p* were exceptionally, softened to *ḍ*, *ḍ*, *ḍ* respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 2) the surd consonants are elided, with the exception that *ṭ* is always (Vr. II, 20), and *ṭ* and *p* not unfrequently (Vr. II, 7. V, 6. II, 15), softened to *ḍ*, *ḍ*, *v* respectively. The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. I, 177, 195, 231), except that dental *ṭ* is now always elided (H. C. I, 209); its softening to *ḍ* now only surviving in the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī dialects† (H. C. I, 209, IV, 260, 302). The three successive stages of phonetic decay can be clearly traced; and this explains why the peculiarity of Śaurasenī and Māgadhī in retaining the sonant *ḍ* is not noticed by Chaṇḍa; it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and *the* great Prākṛit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that *the* great Prākṛit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prākṛit dialects; though the long lapse of years has now practically obliterated any difference. In the modern dialects all over North India, there is no appreciable difference in the treatment of *ḍ*; perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Māgadhī in retaining *ḍ* being preserved in the past participial terminations *īḷ* or *āl* in Bangālī, Oṛiyā, Eastern Hindī and Marāṭhī (the nearest representatives of the old Māgadhī), which in all probability are the same as the Māgadhī

* *Ārshe; āvanālam, anilo, analo; iti ddy api*; i. e., in the ārsha medial *n* is preserved, as also the initial *n*. (H. C. I, 228).

† I leave here aside the curious rule of Hemachandra with reference to the Apabhramṣa (H. C. IV, 396). It refers to an ancient kind of Apabhramṣa, as I shall show in the footnotes to the English Translation.

termination *īda* (Sanskrit *ita*); see the introductory remarks in my *Comparative Grammar*, also *ibid*, §§ 109, 306, pp. 62, 139.

3. The preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants, with the only exception of *kḥ* which may be reduced to *क्*. But *ṭḥ* was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to *ḍh*, etc. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi, only *chḥ* is preserved, but *ṭḥ* is always, and *pḥ* generally, softened to *ḍḥ* and *bḥ* respectively (Vr. II, 24, 26), while *kḥ* and *tḥ* are always reduced to *ह* (Vr. II, 27). The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. III, 187, 199), except that *pḥ* may now be either softened to *bḥ* or (more usually) reduced to *ह* (H. C. I, 236). Here again the softening of *tḥ* to *ḍḥ* only survives in the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī dialects (Vr. XII, 3. H. C. IV, 267, 302). The phonetic parallelism between this and the preceding case will not fail to be observed.

4. The preservation of the single medial semi-consonants *y* and *v*. This follows from a comparison of sūtra III, 34 with its terms as revised in C D III, 34. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *y* was always and *v* commonly elided (Vr. II, 2. H. C. I, 177). In those cases where Hemachandra seems to have preserved *y*, it is really not the semi-consonant which has been retained, but the semivowel *y* (see No. 5) which has been inserted.

5. The insertion of the semivowel *y* to fill up the hiatus whenever the second vowel is *a* (III, 35). This is the so-called *ya-śruti*, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180). According to him, however, both vowels must be *a*. Vararuchi's Prākṛit knows nothing of this usage. It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prākṛit, but the degree of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prākṛit. It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prākṛit.

In all other respects there is no difference between the older Prākṛit and that of the later Grammarians.

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not possess are the guttural *ṣ*, the palatal *ṣ* (II, 14), the palatal *ṣ* and the cerebral *ṣ* (III, 18). Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two nasals in conjunction with their own class. To Chanda this practice appears to have been not unknown, as sūtra II, 15 would indirectly seem to show. However, there can be but little doubt, that this was only an orthographic, and not a phonetic question; the class-nasal was probably always pronounced (just as it is now, in the modern Gaudians), though it might be written in either way, by its own proper symbol or by the anusvāra. Nevertheless, though that is the theoretical rule of the grammars (even now), practically the class-nasal is never written, but always the anusvāra.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prākṛit possesses, are subject to the following laws :

a, *Single Consonants.*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvāra or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11. III, 33). In Vararuchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sūtras (Vr. IV, 6—12. H. C. I, 11—24).

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26).

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13).

4, Initial *g* is once (in *gharam*) said to become *gh* (III, 20).

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*jñ*), it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *ḍ* sometimes changes to *l* (III, 21). Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others. In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon; see C D III, 21. Vr. II, 23. H. C. I, 202.

7, *ṇ* changes to *n* in Paiśācī (III, 38).

8, Dental consonants (incl. *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16). [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*ty*, *dy*, *sth*, etc.) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16); once (in *khambho*) such a *th* becomes *kh* (III, 19)].

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21).

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15); except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17). Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii); except in the passive where it is changed to *jj* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *i* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)]. In *teraha* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22); but the same word is explained differently in III, 31.

11, *r* remains unchanged; excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *n* (III, 18, 20). These exceptions, however, can be explained differently. In the Paiśācī and Māgadhī dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39).

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). Once (in *rukko*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22).

13, *s* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *ṣ* (III, 14). In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to *ṣ* (III, 39). [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *śh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *kh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)].

14, *h* remains 'unchanged'; excepting one case (*gharam*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19). [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)].

b, *Conjunct Consonants.*

In the treatment of these the older Prákrit is altogether in accord with the later. They may be dealt with in two ways:—

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30.

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27).

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26); and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29).

With regard to elision Chanda's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same. In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see Vr. III, 9—66. H. C. II, 1—115); but Chanda strictly carries out the theory of elision. For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants. Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it. Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, exc. in the Apabhram̐sa III, 37); *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc. (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*; *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9); *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9); *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1); the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3); lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *sk*, *sp*, *śhṇ*, *śn*, *sn*, *sm*, *shm*, etc.). This is his principle of elision. But his principle of arranging the sūtras is the order of the letters in the alphabet. He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2); next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8); and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9). The six sūtras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct. First Chanda gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8).

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets. Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (*ś* or *śh*), it is *ipso facto* (i. e. by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp. ix, x). The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p. xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside *ṣ* and *ṣh*) which do not exist in Prākṛit.

It may be well to illustrate Chanda's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakṣmī*, *kṛṣṇam*, *spasṭam*, *sthitaḥ*, *vidyā*, *jihvā*, *vāhyah*. Here *LAṢMĪ* first becomes *lakṣī* (by III, 6), then *lakhī* (III, 4) or *lasi* (III, 18); next *lakhī* (III, 14), finally *lachehī* (III, 24, 26). *KṚṢṆAM* becomes first *kṛṇam* (III, 6) or *kaṇam* (II, 5), and then *kaṇham* (III, 23). *SPASṬAM* becomes first *pasṭam* (III, 3) or *pusṭam* (II, 4), then *phusṭam* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭam* (III, 8); or *pusṭam* may become *puṭam* (III, 8), then *puṭham* (III, 11), finally *puṭṭham* (III, 24, 26). *STHITAḤ* becomes first *thitaḥ* (III, 3), then *ṭhitaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *ṭhitaḥ* (II, 10), finally *ṭhitaḥ* (II, 1). *VIDYĀ* first becomes *vidā* (III, 5), then *vijā* (III, 16), finally *vijjā* (III, 24, 27). *JIHVA* becomes first *jihā* (III, 1), then *jibhā* (III, 21), finally *jibbhā* (III, 24, 26). *VAHYAH* becomes first *vāhaḥ* (III, 1), then *vājhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vājjaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vajjaḥ* (II, 3), next *vajjahā* (II, 10), finally *vajjho* (II, 1).

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chanda's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement. To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherency.

3, ANUSVĀRA.

The anusvāra is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prākṛit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H. C. I, 23—30. Vr. IV, 12—17). It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit; but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15); or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

4, VISARGA.

The visarga in the older Prākṛit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *r*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e. g.*, in the nominative singular, that to *r* in *puraṇarāpi* (compare H. C. II, 179).

5, NOUNS.

The older Prākṛit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2); but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).* The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns :

Singular.	Nom. <i>o</i> , <i>e</i> (II, 10) or—	Plural.	— (I, 11) or <i>no</i> (I, 12).
	Acc. <i>am</i> (I, 3)		<i>e</i> or — (I, 11, 15), <i>no</i> (I, 12)
	Intr. <i>ina</i> or <i>nā</i> (I, 3)		<i>hi</i> (<i>him</i>) (I, 7).
	Abl. <i>ā</i> , <i>tō</i> , <i>tū</i> , <i>hinto</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 12, 16)		<i>hinto</i> (I, 8).
	Gen. <i>ssa</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 13)		<i>nā</i> , <i>hā</i> (<i>nam</i> , <i>ham</i>) (I, 5).
	Loc. <i>e</i> , <i>mmi</i> (I, 14)		<i>su</i> (<i>sum</i>) (I, 3).

N. B.—The forms given after “or” belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom., instr., abl. singular and acc. plural and *e* of the loc. sing. which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing. and voc. plur. are nowhere noticed by Chāṇḍa, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prākṛit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom. and acc. plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom. and acc. plural, where they add the suffix *ni* (I, 3).

N. B.—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chāṇḍa indicates by the term *lingāt parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

* It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of C D that they insert the word *sapta* “seven” in the commentary to sūtra I, 3. Chāṇḍa had very properly omitted it, as sūtra II, 13 shows that Prākṛit has only six cases.

In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3. II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4). Thus in the acc. sing. *deva* + *am* = *devam* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggim* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenum* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1); *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); inst. sg. *deva* + *ina* = *devena* (II, 1); *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhi* (II, 4); loc. sg. *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhi* (II, 4); inst. pl. *deva* + *hi* = *devahi* (II, 4); loc. plur. *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc. See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chanḍa's nominal declension.

Prākṛit has only three declensions; viz. those ending in *a* (or feminine *ā*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *ī* and *ū*). Nouns ending in *ī* or *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in *ī* and *ū* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chanḍa. Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11). Nouns originally ending in *ri* are nowhere noticed by Chanḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ri* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *dra*, as in Pāli and the later Prākṛit. There is one exceptional declension; viz. that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16).

a, Declension in a.

The nom. sing. ends in *o* or *e* masc., e. g., *devo* or *deve*; *ā* fem., e. g., *gangā*; *am* neut., e. g., *kulam*.

The acc. sing. ends in *am* masc. and neut., e. g., *devam*, *kulam*; *am* fem., e. g., *gangām*.

The instr. sing. ends in *ena* masc. and neut., e. g., *devena*, *kuleṇa*; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ā* or *āto* or *ātu* or *āhinto* masc. and neut., e. g., *devā* or *devāto* or *devātu* or *devāhinto*, *kulā*, etc.; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *taḥ*). It is not noticed by Chanḍa, because it is not technically a declensional form. For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p. 116). But its existence in the Ārsha is guaranteed by its existence in Pāli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prākṛit (H. C. III, 8); also by the existence in the Ārsha itself of the pronominal forms *maṭṭo*, *taṭṭo* (I, 24, 28).

The gen. sing. ends in *assa* masc. and neut., e. g., *devassa*. Curiously enough the genitive sing. of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sūtra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists; and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chāṇḍa. Fem. *de*, e. g., *gangāe*.

The loc. sing. ends in *e* or *ammi* masc. and neut., e. g., *deve* or *devammi*, *kule* or *kulammi*; *de* fem., e. g., *gangāe*.

The nom. plur. ends in *ā* masc., e. g., *devā*; *do* or *ai* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāu*, *gangā*; neut. *āni* or *āpi*, e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāpi*.

The acc. plur. ends in *e* masc., e. g., *deve*; *do* or *ai* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāu*, *gangā*; *āni* or *āpi* neut., e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāpi*.

The instr. plur. ends in *ehi* or *ehim* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devehi*, or *devehim*, *kulehi* or *kulehim*; *āhi* or *āhim* fem., e. g., *gangāhi* or *gangāhim*.

The gen. plur. ends in *āna* or *āha* or *ānam* or *āham* (II, 15); e. g., *devāna* or *devāha* or *devānam* or *devāham*, *gangāna*, etc., *kulāna*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *esu* or *esum* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devesu* or *devesum*, *kulesu* or *kulesum*; *āsu* or *āsum* fem., e. g., *gangāsu* or *gangāsum*.

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Pāli and later Prākṛit or Arddha-Māgadhī forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in *a*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.*
Sing. Nom.	देवः	देवो	देवो or देवे	देवो or देवे†
Voc.	हे देव	हे देव	हे देव or हे देवो	हे देव or हे देवो
Acc.	देवं	देवं	देवं	देवं
Instr.	देवेन	देवेन	देवेण	देवेण
Abl.	देवात्	देवा	देवा	देवा
	देवतः	देवतो	देवतो	देवतो
	—	देवन्ता or °न्ता	देवाह्न्तो	देवाह्न्तो or देवाहि
Gen.	देवस्य	देवस्स	देवस्स	देवस्स
Loc.	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
	—	देवन्धि or °न्धि	देवन्धि	देवन्धि
Plur. Nom.	देवाः	देवा	देवा	देवा
Voc.	—	—	—	—

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar.

† Arddha-Māgadhī; see H. C. IV, 287.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Acc.	देवान्	देवे	देवे	देवा or देवे
Instr.	देवैः	देवेभि or देवेहि	देवेहि or ०हिं	देवहि or हिं or ०हिं
Abl.	देवेभ्यः	देवेभि or हि	देवेहिंते	देवेहिंते or ०सुंते
	—	—	—	देवाहिंते or ०सुंते
Gen.	देवानां	देवानं	देवाणं or देवाण	देवाणं or देवाण
	—	—	देवाहं or ०ह	देवाहं or ०ह
Loc.	देवेषु	देवेसु	देवेसु or ०सुं	देवेसु or ०सुं

Feminines in *ā*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
Voc.	गंगे	गंगे	गंगा or गंगे	गंगा or गंगे
Acc.	गंगां	गंगं	गंगां	गंगं
Instr.	गंगया	गंगाय (or loc. गंगायं)	गंगाए	गंगाए or ०इ or ०अ*
Abl. } Gen. }	गंगायाः			
Loc.	गंगायां			
Plur. Nom.	गंगाः			
Voc.		गंगायो	गंगाओ or गंगाउ	गंगाओ or गंगाउ
Acc.	गंगाभिः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहि or हिं	गंगाहि or ०हिं or ०हिं
Instr.		गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहिंते	गंगाहिंते or ०सुंते
Abl.	गंगाभ्यः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहिंते	गंगाहिंते or ०सुंते
Gen. }	गंगानां	गंगानं	गंगाणं or गंगाण	गंगाणं or गंगाण
	—	—	गंगाहं or ०ह	गंगाहं or ०ह
Loc.	गंगासु	गंगासु	गंगासु or ०सुं	गंगासु or ०सुं

* Or abl. = abl. masc., exc. the forms in *ā* and *āhi*, see H. C. III, 126, 127.

Neuters in <i>a</i> .				
Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं
Acc.				
Voc.	कुल	कुल	कुल	कुल
Plur. Nom.	कुलानि	कुलानि or कुला	कुलानि or ँणि	कुलाणि or ०लाइ or ०लाइँ
Voc.				
Acc.				

The remainder like masc. in *a*.

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*.

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis*; thus:—

The nom. sing. ends in *i* and *u*; e. g., masc. *aggi*, *guru*; fem. *buddhi*, *dhenu*; neut. *dahi*, *mahu*.

The acc. sing. ends in *im* and *um*; e. g., masc. *aggim*, *gurum*; fem. *buddhim*, *dhenum*; neut. *dahim*, *mahum*.

The instr. sing. ends in *inā* and *unā* masc. and neut., e. g., *agginā*, *gurunā* and *dahinā*, *mahunā*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhiē*, *dhenúe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ino* and *uno* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo*, *guruṇo* and *dahino*, *mahuno*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhiē*, *dhenúe*. There is also the quasi-abl. in *ito* and *uto*; e. g., *aggito*, *guruto*, etc.

The gen. sing. ends in *ino* or *issa* and *uno* or *ussa* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo* or *aggissa*, *guruṇo* or *gurussa* and *dahino* or *dahissa*, *mahuno* or *mahussa*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhiē*, *dhenúe*.

The loc. sing. ends in *immi* and *ummi* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggimmi*, *gurummi* and *dahimmi*, *mahummi*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhiē*, *dhenúe*.

The nom. and acc. plur. end in *ayo* or *i* or *ino* and *avo* or *ú* or *uno* masc., e. g., *aggayo* or *aggi* or *aggiṇo*, *guravo* or *guru* or *guruṇo*; *i* or *io* or *iu* and *ú* or *úo* or *úu* fem., e. g., *buddhi* or *buddhió* or *buddhiu*, *dhenú* or *dhenúo* or *dhenúu*. The neuter is not noticed; probably *ini* and *úni*; e. g., *dahini*, *mahini*; or possibly like the masculine, *dahi* or *dahino*, *mahu* or *mahuno*. The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chāṇḍa, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayaḥ*, *avaḥ*, and would come under his general rule I, 3. Their existence is guaranteed by the Páli on the one side, and the later Prákrit on the other. (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom. and acc. form in *io* and *úo*, which is the same as *ayo* and *avo*, with *ay*, *av* contracted to *i*, *ú* respectively.)

The instr. plur. ends in *ihī* or *ihim*, and *uhi* or *uhim*; e. g., masc. *aggihi* or *aggihim*, *guruhi* or *guruhim*; fem. *buddhihi* or *buddhihim*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhim*; neut. *dahihi* or *dahihim*, *mahuhi* or *mahuhim*.

The abl. plur. ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*; e. g., masc. *aggihinto*, *guru-hinto*; fem. *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*; neut. *dahihinto*, *mahuhinto*.

The gen. plur. ends in *īna* or *īha* or *īnam* or *īham*, and *ūna* or *ūha* or *ūnam* or *ūham*; e. g., masc. *aggiīna* or *aggiīnam* or *aggiīha* or *aggiīham*, *guruīna* or *guruīnam* or *guruīha* or *guruīham*; fem. *buddhīna* or *buddhīha*, etc., *dhenūna* or *dhenūha*, etc.; neut. *dahīna* or *dahīha*, etc., *mahīna* or *mahīha*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *isu* or *isum* and *usu* or *usum*; masc. *aggisu* or *aggisum*, *gurusu* or *gurusum*; fem. *buddhisu* or *buddhisum*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusum*; neut. *dahisu* or *dahisum*, *mahusu* or *mahusum*.

To the voc. sing. and plur. the same remark applies as to the voc. of the *a*-declension.

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS., regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four:

(1). In sūtra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *ī* and *ū*. This is almost certainly false; for (a) even in the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom. sing. neuter ends in short *i* and *u*; and (b) what is more important, there is no sūtra in Chaṇḍa's grammar to account for the long *ī* and *ū* of the nom. sing., as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension that Chaṇḍa enumerates in sūtra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*samskr̥itavād vibhaktayāḥ*), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Now by sūtra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *ih* or *uh* is omitted, but there is no sūtra anywhere in Chaṇḍa to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sūtra II, 5 there occurs the word *riśih*, the Prākṛit form of which in all MSS. is given as *isi* (not *isī*); again in that very sūtra II, 10 one example is *vati*, as all MSS. read, for Skr. *vr̥tiḥ**; again in sūtra II, 17 we have *mati* and *gati*, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Pāli, which Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr. *patih*, as O D have it, but = Skr. *vr̥tiḥ*.

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth ; for there the nom. sing. also ends in *i* and *u* (see Minayef, pp. 64, 66, 69). Accordingly I have restored the short *i* and *u* in the nom. sing. throughout.

(2). It is very similar with the instr., abl., and loc. plural. Here all MSS. read long *ī* and *ū* before the suffixes *hi*, *hinto* and *su*. But as Chaṇḍa has no sūtra to enjoin the lengthening of *i* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prākṛit they were not long, as in the later Prākṛit, but short, as (optionally) in Pāli (see Minayef *ibid.*, also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chaṇḍa places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sūtra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction ; and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl. plural from sūtra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that *aggihi*, *aggihinto* and *aggisu* be correct forms ; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sūtra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *ī* ; but let the forms be *aggihi*, *aggihinto*, *aggisu*, then only *aggihinto* is unlike Skr. *agnibhyaḥ*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggihi* is like Skr. *agnibhiḥ* (*h* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggisu* like Skr. *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18) ; hence these two forms will come under I, 3. This is precisely what we find Chaṇḍa to have actually done ; it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been. Accordingly I have restored the short *i* throughout in those three cases.*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *i* and *u* are really lengthened to *ī* and *ū* in Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit, as in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. singular and nom. and acc. plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chaṇḍa, by sūtra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhīe*, *dhenūe* (not *buddhie*, *dhenue*).

(3). The acc. singular of feminine nouns in *ī* and *ū*, as well as of feminine nouns in *a*, has a long termination ; thus *gangām*, *naīm*, *vahūm*. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though C and D read *gangam* in I, 3, B reads *gangām* (A omits it) ; on the other hand C and D read *naīm* in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prākṛit, but even Pāli (see Minayef, pp. 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chaṇḍa were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prākṛit ; and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chaṇḍa enumerates them under

* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS. D the short *i* and *u* occur three times ; viz. *buddhihim*, *guruhim* in I, 3 and *guruhinto* in I, 8. They may be mere clerical errors.

sútra I, 3, makes in the same direction; for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sútra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sútra II, 16, where Chanda gives the declension of the noun *gávī* "cow", the two MSS. C D again read *gávīm* in the acc. sing. (A B omit it); this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc. sing. *tvám* or *tām* and *mám* (see remarks, p. xlv).

(4). All MSS. assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*; thus *aggie*, *gurue*. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sútra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.

Masculines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अग्निः	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्गी
Voc.	अग्ने	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्गी or अग्नि
Acc.	अग्निं	अग्निं	अग्निं	अग्निं
Instr.	अग्निना	अग्निना	अग्निणा	अग्निणा
Abl.	अग्नेः	अग्निना	अग्निणो	अग्निणो
		अग्निस्मा or ०न्हा	—	अग्गीहिंतो
	अग्नितः	अग्नितो	अग्नितो	अग्नितो
		—	—	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
Gen.	अग्नेः	अग्निनो or ०स्स	अग्निणो or ०स्स	अग्निणो or अग्निस्स
Loc.	अग्नी	अग्निस्मिं or ०न्दि	अग्निस्मि	अग्निस्मि
Plur. Nom.	अग्नयः	अग्नयो	अग्नयो	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
	—	अग्गी	अग्गी	अग्गी
	—	—	अग्निणो	अग्निणो
Voc.				
Acc.	अग्नीन्	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	अग्निभिः	अग्निभि or ०हि	अग्निहि or ०हिं	—
		अग्गीभि or ०हि	—	अग्गीहि or ०हिं

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prákrit.
Abl.	अग्निभ्यः	{ अग्निभि or ०हि अग्नीभि or ०हि	अग्निहिंते —	— अग्नीहिंते or ०सुंते
Gen.	अग्नीनां	अग्नीनं {	अग्नीणं or ०ण अग्नीहं or ०ह	अग्नीणं or ०ण (<i>deeest</i>)*
Loc.	अग्निषु	{ अग्निषु अग्नीषु	अग्निषु or ०सुं —	— अग्नीषु or ०सुं

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	बुद्धिः	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धी
Voc.	बुद्धे	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि or बुद्धी
Acc.	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं
Instr.	बुद्ध्या	{ बुद्धिया (abl. loc. also बुद्ध्या, loc. बुद्धियं, बुद्ध्यां, बुद्धिं, बुद्धो)	बुद्धीए	{ बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ बुद्धीआ or बुद्धीअ
Abl.	बुद्ध्याः or			
Gen.	बुद्धेः			
Loc.	{ बुद्ध्यां or बुद्धौ			
Plur. Nom.	{ बुद्धयः	{ बुद्धी	बुद्धी	बुद्धी
Voc.		{ बुद्धियो	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ
Acc.	बुद्धीः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	बुद्धिभिः	{ बुद्धिभि or ०हि बुद्धीभि or ०हि	बुद्धिहि or ०हिं —	— बुद्धीहि or ०हिं
Abl.	बुद्धिभ्यः	{ बुद्धिभि or ०हि बुद्धीभि or ०हि	बुद्धिहिंते —	— बुद्धीहिंते or ०सुंते
Gen.	बुद्धीनां	बुद्धीनं {	बुद्धीणं or ०ण बुद्धीहं or ०ह	बुद्धीणं or ०ण (<i>deeest</i>)*

* See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Loc.	बुद्धिषु	बुद्धिं बुद्धीसु	बुद्धिसु or सुं —	— बुद्धीसु or सुं

Neuters in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	दधि	दधि	दधि (acc. दधिं)	दधि or दधिं or दधिं (voc. only दधि)
Plur. do.	दधीनि	दधी or दधीनि	दधीनि or ंणि	दधीणि or दहीई or दहीई

The remainder, like masculines in *i*,

Masculines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	गुरुः	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु
Voc.	गुरो	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु or गुरु
Acc.	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं
Instr.	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा
Abl.	गुरोः	गुरुणा	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्मा or ०न्हा	—	गुरुहिंतो
	गुरुतः	गुरुतो	गुरुतो	गुरुत्तो
Gen.	गुरोः	गुरुणो	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स
Loc.	गुरौ	गुरुस्मिं or ०न्धि	गुरुस्मि	गुरुस्मि
Plur. Nom.	गुरुवः	गुरुवो	गुरुवो	गुरुवो or गुरुथो or ०उ
		गुरु	गुरु	गुरु
		गुरुषो*	गुरुषो	गुरुषो

* Like जलुवो, see Minayef, p. 69.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Instr.	गुरुभिः	{ गुरुभि or ०हि *	गुरुहि or ०हिं	—
		गुरुभि or ०हि	—	गुरुहि or ०हिं
Abl.	गुरुभ्यः	{ गुरुभि or ०हि	गुरुहिंते	—
		गुरुभि or ०हि	—	गुरुहिंते or ०हुंते
Gen.	गुरुणां	गुरुणं	{ गुरुणं or गुरुण	गुरुणं or गुरुण
			गुरुहं or गुरुह	deest†
Loc.	गुरुषु	{ गुरुषु	गुरुषु or ०हुं	—
		गुरुषु	—	गुरुषु or ०हुं

Feminines in u.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	घेनुः	घेनु	घेनु	घेणू
Voc.	घेनो	घेनु	घेनु	घेणु or घेणू
Acc.	घेनुं	घेनुं	घेनुं	घेणुं
Instr.	घेन्या	{ घेनुया	घेनूर	{ घेणूर or घेणूह
Abl. } Gen. }	घेन्याः or घेनोः			
Loc.	घेन्यां or घेनौ			घेणूया or घेणूय
Plur. Nom.	{ घेनवः	{ घेनू	घेनू	घेणू
Voc.		घेनुयो	घेनूयो or घेनूउ	घेणूयो or घेणूउ
Acc.	घेनूः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	घेनुभिः	{ घेनुभि or ०हि	घेनुहि or ०हिं	—
		घेनुभि or ०हि	—	घेणूहि or ०हिं
Abl.	घेनुभ्यः	{ घेनुभि or ०हि	घेनुहिंते	—
		घेनुभि or ०हि	—	घेणूहिंते or ०हुंते
Gen.	घेनूनां	घेनूनं	{ घेनूणं or घेनूण	घेणूणं or घेणूण
			घेनूहं or घेनूह	deest†

* Like जंतुहि, see Kuhn, p. 82.

† See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Loc.	घेनुषु	{ घेनसु घेनूसु	घेनुसु or ०सु —	— घेणूसु or ०सु

Neuters in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	मधु	मधु	मज्ज (acc. मज्जे)	मज्ज or मज्जे or मज्जे (voc. मज्ज).
Plur. do.	मधूनि	मधू or मधूनि	मज्जनि or ०णि	मज्जणि or मज्जइ or मज्जइ

The remainder, like masculines in *u*.

Masculine nouns in *i* and *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting the nom. sing. which ends in *i* or *ū* respectively.*

Feminine nouns in *i* and *ū* are declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *i* and *ū* wherever the latter have short *i* and *u*.

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	नदी	नदी	नई	नई
Voc.	नदि	नदि	नइ	नइ
Acc.	नदीं	नदिं or नदियं	नईं	नईं
Plur. Instr.	नदीभिः	नदीभि or ०हि	नईहि or ०हिं	नईहि or ०हिं
Abl.	नदीभ्यः	नदीभि or ०हि	नईहंतो	नईहंतो or ०सुतो
Loc.	नदीषु	नदीसु	नईसु or ०सु	नईसु or नईसु

The remainder, as in feminines in *i*.

Feminines in *ū*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	वधूः	वधू	वह्ण	वह्ण
Voc.	वधु	वधु	वह्ण	वह्ण
Acc.	वधूं	वधुं	वह्णं	वह्णं

* Thus *nāni* I, 24, *sastī* III, 18, *sarvaṇṇā* in C D III, 6.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Instr.	वधूभिः	वधूभि or ०च्चि	वह्वहि or ०च्चि	वह्वहि or ०च्चि
Abl.	वधूभ्यः	वधूभि or ०च्चि	वह्वहिंतो	वह्वहिंतो or ०हुंतो
Loc.	वधूषु	वधूसु	वह्वसु or ०हुं	वह्वसु or ०हुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*.

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in sūtra II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders; viz., *gavo* masc. and *gávī* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *navī* "river".

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	(गौः)	गावौ*	गावौ	गावौ or गार्द†
Acc.	(गां)	गाविं	गार्दौ	गार्द
Plur. Nom.	{ (गावः)	{ गाविद्यो*	{ गावीञ्चो or ०उ	{ गावीञ्चो† or गार्दञ्चो or गार्दञ्
Acc.				
		गावौ*	गावौ	गार्द

The remainder, like feminines in *i*.

6, PRONOUNS.

a, Personal Pronouns.

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are *म* and *मन्* (= Sanskrit *मन्*), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Páli, Prákrit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base; viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *majjha*. The last two, which occur in the Ārsha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Páli

* *Gávī* nom. sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and *gāviyo* nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and *gávī* in Kachoh. II, 1, 23 (Senart, p. 44).

† *Gávī* in H. C. II, 174 and *gāt* in H. C. I, 158 and *gāvīo* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *maṇya*, in Sanskrit. In the *Ārsha* these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases ; but in the later *Prākṛit* they have a nearly regular declension.

The *Ārsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *bḥe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc. plural. It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*.

Declension.

Cases.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	{ अहं	अहं	अहं	अहं or अहयं
	{ —	—	—	अन्हि or अन्मि
Acc.	{ मां	मं	मां	मं
	{ —	ममं	—	ममं or भिमं, etc.
Instr.	{ मया	मया	मए	मए or मइ
	{ —	—	मे	मे or मि
	{ —	—	—	ममए, etc.
Abl.	{ मत्	{ मया	मइत्तो	मइत्तो
		{ —	—	ममत्तो or ममादो, etc.
		{ —	—	मइत्तो or मइादो, etc.
		{ —	—	मज्झत्तो or मज्झादो, [etc.
Gen.	{ मे	मे	मे	मे, etc.
	{ मम	मम or ममं	मम	मम
	{ —	—	मह	मह or महं
	{ —	मय्हं	मज्झा	मज्झा or मज्झां
	{ —	अन्हं	—	अन्ह or अन्हं
Loc.	{ मयि	मयि	मयि	मइ, etc.
	{ —	—	—	ममन्मि
	{ —	—	—	मइन्मि
	{ —	—	—	मज्झन्मि
	{ —	—	—	अन्हन्मि

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Plur. Nom.	{ वयं	मयं	वयं	वयं
	{ —	अन्हे	अन्हे	अन्हे or अन्हो or अन्ह
Acc.	{ अस्मान्	अन्हे (or अन्हाकं)	अन्हे	अन्हे or अन्हो or अन्ह
	{ नः	नो	नो	णे
Instr.	अस्माभिः	अन्हेभि or °हि	अन्हेहि or °हिं	{ अन्हेहि or °हिं अन्हाहि or °हिं, etc.
Abl.	{ अस्मात्	अन्हेभि or °हि	अन्हेहिंतो or	(अन्हेहिंतो?) or °हुंतो
		—	अन्ह हिंतो	अन्हाहिंतो or °हुंतो
		—	—	(मसेहिंतो?) or °हुंतो
		—	—	ममाहिंतो or °हुंतो
	{ नः	नो	नो	णो or णे
Gen.	अस्माकं	अस्माकं or अन्हाकं	अन्हाणं or °ण	अन्हाणं or ण
	—	—	अन्हाहं or °ह	अन्हाहं
	—	—	—	मसाणं or °ण
	—	—	—	महाणं or °ण
	—	—	—	मज्झाणं or °ण
	—	अन्हं	अन्हं	अन्हं or अन्ह
	अन्हासु	अन्हेसु	अन्हेसु or °सुं	अन्हेसु or अन्हसु
Loc.	—	—	—	मनेसु or ममसु
	—	—	—	महेसु or मज्जसु
	—	—	—	मज्झेसु or मज्झसु ;
	—	—	—	also अन्हासु or °सुं, [etc.]

b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*). In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively; but in the Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākrit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base :

tu or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tujjha* or *tubbha* or *tumbha*. The first four are probably modifications of *tva*, and the others, of *tumha*. The *Arsha* possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in isolated cases; absent are only *tu*, *tuva*, *tuyha*. In the later *Prákrit*, however, they are capable of almost regular declension.

The *Arsha* possesses also an indeclinable form *ðhe* which may be used in any of the six cases (II, 26). Hemachandra confines its use to the instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genitive plural (H. C. III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100).

The second personal pronoun in *Chanda's* *Prákrit* is especially deserving of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity. I mean the forms of the nom. acc. and loc. sing., which, just as in *Páli*, may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv*. The MSS. are on this point in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the *Prákrit* forms. This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case. The readings are the following:

A त्वा । मा । तं ॥

B त्वा । मा । तं । सं ॥

C त्वा । मा । तं । सं ॥

D त्वा । तं । मा । सं ॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show. The Revisionists, mistaking *tvám* and *mám* for Sanskrit, were naturally surprised to miss in A the corresponding form सं; so they quietly added सं in B and C. Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper order, they change the latter to *tvám*, *tam*, *mám*, *mam* in D. This no doubt is the correct order; provided that *tvám* and *mám* are really Sanskrit.* But the truth is that they are not Sanskrit. Indeed, one of the indications that they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C. On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but *Prákrit*, it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order; moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *mam*. The order of the forms of the nom. plural (*vayam*, *tuhme*, *ahme*) clearly shows *Chanda's* method. *Vayam* is a tatsama; *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas; the tatsama form corresponding to *vayam* is *yúyam*, but that does not exist in *Prákrit*. *Chanda's* method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the tadbhava. Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or "personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed to the second and third; but they begin at the other end. Hence with them the second personal pronoun always precedes the first. Hence the change in D to *tvám tam, nám mam*,

we find that *tvām*, *mām* is the tatsama pair; the tadbhava pair should be *tām*, *mām*, but *mām* is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvām*, *mām*, *tām*. That *tām* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if *tām* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mām* would be unaccountable; while if *tām* was the original reading, its change into *tām* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvām* for Sanskrit and *tām* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prākṛit spelling. But if *tvām* is a Prākṛit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tām*, not *tām*. And there is this to be said for the form *tām*, that it agrees with the general law of Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit, of preserving the long termination in the acc. singular (see the remarks on p. xxxvii). Moreover if *tām* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chaṇḍa under sūtra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvām* to be fairly called a *samskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sūtra assigned to it; as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tām* into *tām*. It being thus established, that *tvām* is the tatsama form of the acc. singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom. and loc. singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvam*, *aham*; the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sūtra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sūtras (e. g. in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayi*, *mayi*; the tadbhava is *tayi*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *aham* and *mayi*.

Declension.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Nom.	{ त्वं	त्वं	त्वं or तं	तं or तुं
	{ —	तुवं	तुवं	तुवं or तुवं
	{ —	—	—	तुह
Acc.	{ त्वां	त्वं or तं	त्वां or तां	तं or तुं
	{ —	तवं or तुवं	तुवं	तुवं or तुवं
	{ —	—	—	तुह
	{ —	—	तुए	तुए or तुमे
Instr.	{ त्वया	त्वया or तया	तए or तइ	तए or तइ
	{ —	—	ते or तुमे	ते or तुमे
	{ —	—	—	तुमए or तुमइ

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākrit.
Abl.	त्वत्	तथा or तया	तइत्तो	तइत्तो
		—	तुमात्तो	तुमत्तो or तुमाच्चो
		—	तुमाच्चिंतो or ०चिं	तुमाच्चिंतो or ०चिं
		—	—	तुवत्तो or तुवाच्चो, etc.
		—	—	तुच्चत्तो or तुदाच्चो, etc.
		—	—	तुब्भत्तो or तुब्भाच्चो, etc.
		—	—	तुम्हत्तो or तुम्हाच्चो, etc. [etc.]
Gen.	ते	ते	ते	ते or दे or दि or ए or इ
		तव	तव	तुव or तुम, etc.
		—	तुच्च	तुच्च or तुच्चं
		—	तुज्झ	तुज्झ or उज्झ
		तुम्हं	तुम्ह	तुम्ह or उम्ह or तुम्हं
		तुम्हं	—	उम्ह
		—	—	तुम्भ or उम्भ
Loc.	त्वयि	त्वयि or तयि	त्वयि or तयि	तइ or तुम्मि, etc.
		—	—	तुमे or तुमम्मि or तुवम्मि
		—	—	तुच्चम्मि
		—	—	तुज्झम्मि
		—	—	तुम्हम्मि
		—	—	तुम्भम्मि
		—	—	—
Plur. Nom.	यूयं	तुम्हे	तुम्हे or तुम्भे	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्हे or उम्हे
		—	—	तुज्भे
		—	—	तुम्भे or तुम्भ

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Acc.	वः यस्मान्	वो	वो	वो
		तुम्हे (or तुम्हाकं)	तुम्हे	तुम्हे
		—	तुम्मे	तुम्मे or तुम्भ
		—	—	तुम्हे or उम्हे
Instr.	यस्माभिः	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहि or °हिं	तुम्हेहिं or उम्हेहिं
		—	(तुम्मेहि or °हिं?)	तुम्मेहिं or उम्मेहिं
		—	—	तुम्हे हिं or उम्हे हिं
		—	—	तुम्मेहिं
Abl.	यस्मात्	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहिंतो	तुम्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो*
		—	—	तुम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो
		—	—	तुम्मे° or तुम्भा°, etc.
		—	—	तुम्हे° or तुम्हा°, etc.
Gen.	वः यस्माकं	वो	वो	वो
		तुम्हाकं	{ तुम्हाणं or °ण तुम्हाहं or °ह }	तुम्हाणं or °ण
				तुम्हाहं
				तुम्हाणं or °ण
				तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाणं or °ण
				तुम्भाणं or °ण
				तुम्भाणं or °ण
		तुम्हं	—	तुम्ह or तुम्हं
				तुम्भ or तुम्भं
				तुम्भ or तुम्भं

* Also उम्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो, उम्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो।

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Loc.	तुभ्यस्तु	तुभ्ये	तुभ्ये or •सु	तुभ्ये or तुभ्सु*
		—	—	तुमे or तुमसु
		—	—	तुवे or तुवसु
		—	—	तुवे or तुवसु
		—	—	तुभ्ये or तुभ्सु
		—	—	तुज्ज्भ्ये or तुज्ज्भसु
		—	—	तुसु

b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are *tad*, *eta* and *idam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *ima* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chanda, nom. sing. neuter *taṃ* (II, 17); nom. plur. masc. *te* (I, 31); instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. fem. *tās* (I, 9); gen. plur. com. gen. *tānaṃ* or *tāhaṃ* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. *sa* (II, 17, Skr. *sa*), fem. *sā* (II, 1, Skr. *sā*); abl. sing. fem. *tassā* (B C D, I, 3, Skr. *tasyāḥ*), gen. sing. or plur. com. gen. *se* (I, 17); gen. plur. masc. or neut. *tesaṃ* (Skr. *tesāṃ*) or *tesim* (I, 3); loc. sing. masc. or neut. *tasmim* (Skr. *tasmin*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Pāli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesim* (see Minayef's Pāli Grammar, pp. 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *tī* or *tī*; *viz.*, instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. *tīe* (I, 9) and abl. sing. *tissā* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskritic nom. sing. masc. *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen. general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *ima*, only the regular form *imā* of the nom. sing. fem. (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chanda; *viz.*, the irregular Sanskritic abl. sing. masc. or neut. *jamhā* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

* Also तुभ्यस्तु, तमास्तु, तुवास्तु, तुज्ज्मास्तु, तुज्ज्भ्यस्तु; also every form with final •सु.

and the irregular Sanskritic nom. singular neuter *kim* (I, 23) and the regular gen. plural *kānam* or *kāham* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are *tāva* "so much", *jāva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *tāvat*, *yāvat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *tāva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tā* (but not *jā*, for *jāva*). The Pāli has only *tāva*, *jāva*, but not *tā* (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prākṛit has both pairs complete, *tāva* and *jāva*, *tā* and *jā* (H. C. I, 271). Pāli has also a form *jāvaṃ* (apparently really a nom. sing., like *maham*, *bhavam*); the Kṛṣṇa probably had both *tāvaṃ* and *jāvaṃ*; at least they occur in the Jaina Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī (see Weber's *Fragment*, p. 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing. masc., *katara* "which of two" (II, 10, Skr. *katarah*).

7, NUMERALS.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanda, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *ṇham* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *eka* "one", *pancha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e. g., *deva*); *di* "two" (Skr. *dvi*) and *ti* "three" (Skr. *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e. g., *aggi*); and *chatu* "four" (Skr. *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e. g., *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit; viz., *do* or *duve* or *ve* (Skr. *dvau*, *dve*, Pāli *dve*, *duve*, Prākṛit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *donni*, *venni*) "two"; *chattāro* (acc. also *chaturō*), *chatasso*, *chattāri* (so also in Pāli; Skr. *chatvārah*, *chaturah*, *chatusrah*, *chatvāri*; Prāk. *chattāro*, *chaurō*, *chattāri*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally :

6. *chha* (III, 14), Skr. *ṣaṭ*, Pā. *chha*, Prāk. *chha*.
10. *daha* (III, 14), Skr. *daśa*, Pā. *dasa*, Pr. *dasa* or *daha*.
13. *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skr. *trayodaśa*, Pā. *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr. *teraha*.
16. *solasa* (III, 21), Skr. *śoḍaśa*, Pā. *solasa*, Pr. *solaha* (?)
20. *visā* (III, 32), Skr. *vimśati*, Pā. *visati* or *visam*, Pr. *visā*.
30. *tisā* (I, 6), Skr. *triṃsat*, Pā. *tiṃsati* or *tisam*, Pr. *tisā*.
50. *pannā* (III, 32), Skr. *pañcāśat*, Pā. *paññāsam*, Pr. *paññāsā*.
55. *pañapañnasa* (III, 33), Skr. *pañcapañcāśat*, Pā. *pañchapaññāsā*, Pr. *pañavanñā*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, viz. :—

6th *chhattho* (III, 26), Skr. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pā. *chhattho* or *satttho* (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. *chhattho*.

"6 fold" *chhakkaṃ* (III, 3), Skr. *ṣaṭkaṃ*, Pā. *chhakkaṃ*, Pr. *chhakkaṃ*.

8, THE VERB.

Chāṇḍa's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied; and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Pāli and Sanskrit.

The old Prākṛit, like the Pāli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and ātmanepada forms; thus parasm. *gacchhāti* "he goes" (II, 4); ātm. *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS. vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var. lect.*); sometimes all give the ending *e* of the ātmanepada (e. g., *vijjhate* in III, 11); sometimes only one or the other (e. g., *disate* in II, 5. *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *i* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the ātmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chāṇḍa has no sūtra to allow for the change of the ātmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prākṛit; its beginnings are already to be found in Pāli (Kachch. III, 4, 37. p. 263); and it may have occasionally occurred in the Aṛsha; it certainly *did* occur in the Aṛsha in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sūtra (II, 25); but the absence of any such sūtra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sūtra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun; but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural; but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing. *bhaṇāmi* (I, 20. 22), *vemmi* (III, 3); 2nd sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18); 3rd sing. *eti* (I, 12), *acchhāti* (II, 1), *gacchhāti* (II, 4. 10), *bhāti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39); 1st plur. *bhaṇāmo* (II, 27); 3rd plur. *jalanti* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing. *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing. *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur. *niddmetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur. *rakkhantu* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalanti* (Skr. *jvalanti*), etc. are of the 1st class; *eti*, *bhāti*, *vemmi*

(Skr. *vaohmi*) of the IInd class; *lijjante* (Skr. *liyante*) is of the IVth class; *niśámetha* (Skr. *niśámayata*) of the Xth class.

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *jja* if preceded by a vowel, or to *ijja* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25). Thus 3rd sing. pres. *disate* for Skr. *dr̥iṣyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr. *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1); again *najjate* for Skr. *jñāyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *vāhiijate* for Skr. *vādhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25).*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2nd plur. imper. *niśámetha* for Skr. *niśámayata*.

As to the participles, see the following section.

Conjugation of *bhaṇ* "speak".

Present tense.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 1st	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि or भणमि
2nd	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि
3rd	भणति	भणति	भणति	भणइ
Plur. 1st	भणामः	भणाम	भणामी	{ भणामी or भणमी भणाम or भणम, etc.
2nd	भणथ	भणथ	भणथ	भणह or भणित्थ
3rd	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति.

Imperative.

Sing. 2nd	भण	भण	भण	भण
3rd	भणतु	भणतु	भणतु	भणउ
Plur. 2nd	भणत	भणथ	भणथ	भणह
3rd	भणन्तु	भणन्तु	भणन्तु	भणन्तु

Passive.

Sing. 3rd	भण्यते	{ भञ्जते भण्यते —	{ भण्यते भणिज्जते	{ भण्यए or भणइ भण्यैयए or ०यइ भणिज्जए or ०ज्जइ
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* MS. A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sāhiyyantam* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *j*; the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sūtra III, 25 (*nayyate*, *vāhiyyate*); though, no doubt, sūtra III, 15 may account for the change of *yy* to *j*.

Causal.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. 3rd	भाषयति	भाषेति भाषायेति	भाषेति (भाषायेति?)	भाषेइ भाषावेइ

The following specialities may be noticed: the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho*; e. g., *hoti* "it is" (III, 31); so also in Pāli (see Minayef, p. 113). Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers. sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18). The roots *grah* "take" and *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *gīṇhati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "he does" (see App. B C D, III, 3).

9, SUFFIXES.

a, Participial.

a, *anta* (Skr. *at*) forms the participle-present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the ātmanepada. Thus *arahaṇto* (II, 11) for Skr. *arhaṇ*; pass. *bhijjantam* (II, 25) for Skr. *bhidyamānam*.

b, *māna* forms optionally the participle present of the ātmanepada verbs; e. g., *sāhijjamānam* (App. A, II, 25) for Skr. *sādhyamānam*.

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive; e. g., *katam* (Skr. *kṛtam*, I, 23), *sutam* (Skr. *śrutam*, III, 2), *palātam* (Skr. *palāyitam*, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated: thus *osaritam* (Skr. *apasaritam*, II, 23), *diṭṭham* (Skr. *drishṭam*, I, 27).

d, *tavva* (Skr. *tavya*) forms the participle future passive. Thus *sotavvam* (Skr. *śrotavyam*, III, 2), *kātavvam* (Skr. *kartavyam*, II, 4. III, 9, 29).

e, *ttā* or *ttu* (Skr. *tvā*) form the conjunctive participle. Thus *bhottum* (Skr. *bhuktvā*, II, 19, final anusvāra by II, 15), or, with connecting vowel *i*, *vandittā* and *vandittu* (Skr. *vanditvā*, II, 19). Sometimes *tvā* forms *chchā* and *ṭṭu* by assimilation; e. g., *suchchā* (Skr. *śrutvā*, II, 19); *kaṭṭu* (Skr. *kṛtvā*, II, 19); or even *ppi*, as in *kappi* (Skr. *kṛtvā*, II, 19, cf. *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃṣa, H. C. IV, 442).

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle; e. g., *vandio* (Skr. *vanditvā*, II, 19).*

* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text. The suffix is perhaps *iya* (as in Pāli). MS. A reads the example *vandīva* (not *vandio*); similarly A reads *iya* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *iya*. Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandīya*, and accordingly the suffix *iya* (not *o*).

g, *túna* or *ttúna* (Skr. *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle ; e. g., *bhottúna* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19), *kátúna* (Skr. *kṛtvá*, II, 5).

b, Nominal.

āla and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession. Thus *jaḍūlo* or *jaḍillo* (Skr. *jaṭaván*) II, 20.

10, INDECLINABLES.

a, *ṇāi*, *cheya* or *chiya* (Skr. *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels *ch* is doubled ; thus *taṃ cheya*, but *sa chechiya*.

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *vva*, *va* (Skr. *iva*) express likeness (II, 22) ; thus *gimho viya*, *kamalaṃ viva* ; but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvára, e. g., *chaṇḍaṇaṃ piva* (cf. *pi*). The Sanskrit form *iva* also occurs, e. g., *chamaram iva*.

c, *jahá* (Skr. *yathá*) also expresses likeness (II, 22) ; e. g., *jahá sanḥho*.

d, *pi* (Skr. *api*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *katam pi*, *súro pi*.

e, *khu* (Skr. *khalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24) ; thus *evam khu*.

f, *tá* or *táva* (Skr. *távat*) and *jáva* (Skr. *yávat*) express measure (II, 21) ; e. g., *tá vichehḥinnam*, *táva gambhírd*, *jáva lijjante*. The abbreviated form *já* does not occur. See pronominal adjectives, p. li.

g, *iya* (Skr. *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28) ; e. g., *iya evam*.

h, *o* (Skr. *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23) ; e. g., *oḥasitaṃ* (Skr. *avaḥasitaṃ*), *osaritaṃ* (Skr. *apasaritaṃ*).

ANALYSIS OF CHAṆḌA'S SÚTRAS

ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3. 5-10.*

The plan on which these sūtras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prākṛit. These forms are enumerated in sūtra I, 3.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prākṛit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskrit forms are enumerated in the sūtras I, 5-16.

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prākṛit declensional forms :

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chaṇḍa has already been given ; see pp. viii-x, xxiv-xxxi.

	masc. <i>a</i> bases.		masc. <i>i, u</i> bases.		fem. <i>a, i, u</i> bases.	
	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.
Sing.	Nom.	—	Nom.	—	Nom.	—
	Acc.	—	Acc.	—	Acc.	—
	Instr.	—	Instr.	—	—	<i>Instr.</i>
	—	ABL.	—	Abl.	—	<i>Abl.</i>
	—	GEN.	—	GEN.	—	<i>Gen.</i>
	—	Loc.	—	Loc.	—	<i>Loc.</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plur.	Nom.	—	—	Nom.	—	<i>Nom.</i>
	—	ACC.	—	Acc.	—	<i>Acc.</i>
	—	<i>INSTR.</i>	Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	<i>ABL.</i>	—	<i>ABL.</i>	—	<i>ABL.</i>
	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	Loc.	—	Loc.	—	Loc.	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit; those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit.

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural; indicated by capital italics.

(2). The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr., abl., gen., loc. singular and the nom. acc. plural indicated by small italics. (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases.)

(3). The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural; indicated by ordinary type.

(4). The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular; indicated by small capitals. (In the gen. sing. the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc. sing. the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *no* of the gen. is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *e* of the loc. to bases in *a*.)

(5). The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the masculine gender are those of the abl. sing. and the acc. plural; indicated by large capitals. (This is the converse of No. 3.)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sūtras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sūtras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (*lingāt parasya*, I, 5—8); secondly (by No. 2) sūtras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (*striyām*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sūtras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine (*pumsī*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4) sūtras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (*pumsī*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sūtras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (*pumlinge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sūtras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chanda commences with the sūtra on the gen. plur., because the gen. plur. has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$. The gen. plur., therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sūtra I, 3, and the Prākritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sūtra on the instr. plur., because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc. bases in *a*.* Lastly comes the sūtra on the abl. plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chanda was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prākrit instr. plur. suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr. *bhis* (or *bhiḥ*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prākrit (i. e., by the rules III, 18. II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sūtra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prāk. instr. plur., if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base; but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *ais*, with masc. bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chanda to formulate a special sūtra to meet the exceptional case of these masc. *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sūtra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc. *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhisō'taḥ*), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix *hi* to all other bases; which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sūtra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prākritic (like the abl. plur. suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*sanskritavad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sūtra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chanda did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sūtra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chaṇḍa commences with the sūtra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sūtra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom. and acc. plur.; a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *jaṣṣasoḥ*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chaṇḍa places the acc. plur. before the abl. sing., because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case); though another reason may have been, that sūtras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sūtras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sūtras. That the sūtras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sūtras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited; yet they are only applicable to bases in *i* and *u*. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways; 1, by the examples; these are only taken from bases in *i* and *u*; the example of the *a*-base will be found in sūtra I, 3; thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom. plur. not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sūtra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sūtra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc. plur. not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sūtra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u*-bases, the sūtra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *vartanam* or "implication."* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sūtras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *ataḥ* "after *a*-bases" in sūtra I, 15. At the same time, the two sūtras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *i* and *u*; for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc. *a*-bases; next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sūtra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi dhisaḥ*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc. *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sūtra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sūtra, is a favorite one with Chaṇḍa. Another striking example (regarding the gen. and loc. sing.) will be noticed further on in the text.

* The limitation of sūtra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sūtra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sūtras, *viz.*, I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc. plur. and abl. sing. Of these the latter set, *viz.* I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *i* and *u*. There are, thus two sūtras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only; next two sūtras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases; lastly two sūtras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sūtra I, 13 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *no*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sūtra I, 14 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms; thus showing that the loc. in *e* does not belong to the *i*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base.* It hardly needs adding, that in sūtra I, 16, of course, the term *ataḥ* is again "implied" from the preceding sūtra; though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *āt* (instead of *āsi*) used in the sūtra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prākṛit columns, and which are "*samskṛitavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prākṛit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are:—

(1.) The nom. and acc. singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. nom. sing. *grāmaḥ*, Ar. *gāmao* (II, 10) = *gāmo* (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48); or Skr. *pīṭham*, Ar. *pīḍha + am* = *pīḍham* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudī, p. 83) or Skr. *agniḥ*, Ar. *aggi* (II, 10); or Skr. *dadhi*, Ar. *dahi* (II, 10; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85); or Skr. *nadī*, Ar. *nai*; or Skr. *vadhūḥ*, Ar. *vahū* (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. *grāmam*, Ar. *gāma-am* = *gāmam* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47); or Skr. *agnim*, Ar. *aggi + am* = *aggim* (cf. Pāṇini *ibid.*); or Skr. *gangām*, Ar. *gangām*; or Skr. *nadīm*, Ar. *naīm*, etc.

(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devāḥ*, Ar. *devā* (II, 10); or Skr. *kulāni*, Ar. *kulāni* or *kulāni* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurus* (or *aggie*, *gurus* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sūtra. For the forms have no support either from Pāli or from Prākṛit; indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid them in their rules (H. C. III, 128. Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurus* are simply the regular Prākṛit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnike*, *guruke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa soḥā* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS. A and B. For the gen. sing. of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS.) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskrit form; and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen. sing. of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS. C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chakāragrahaṇḍi*, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was *their* way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chāṇḍa's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But *their* solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *chā*.

(3.) The instr. singular of masc. and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devéna*, Ar. *deveṇa* (III, 16).

(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders; thus Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, Ar. *aggihi* (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. *nadibhiḥ*, Ar. *naḍhi*, etc. The Skr. suffix *bhiḥ* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Arsha form, therefore, is perfectly regular; but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skr. *aīḥ*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr. plur. in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvii.

(5.) The gen. plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders; thus Skr. *grāmāṇām*, Ar. *gāma + ṇam = gāmāṇam* (I, 5. II 1; cf. Pāṇini VI, 4. 3. and VII, 1. 54 in L. K. p. 51.; *i* e., Skr. *ṇam* becomes *ṇam* by I, 5; but *ṇam* consists of the augment *ṇ* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gāma* becomes long *ā* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1).

(6.) The loc. plur. of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. *deveshu*, Ar. *deva-su = devesu* (cf. Pāṇini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. *agnishu*, Ar. *aggisu* (III, 18), or Skr. *nadishu*, Ar. *naḍisu*, etc.

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chanda in sūtra I, 3.

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sūtra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc. plur., and abl. gen. and loc. singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sūtra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmim*, *tvayi*, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gagā*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc. plur. and *gāme*, *kule* in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sūtra, as the former forms come under sūtra I, 10, 15, the latter under sūtra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS. A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL *N* TO CEREBRAL *Ṇ*.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxv, xxvi.

The only instances in which the Arsha shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *ṇ*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *ṇa* or *ṇā* of the instr. sing. (I, 3), *ṇo* of the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. (I, 11, 12), *ṇi* of the nom. plur. neut. (I, 4), *ṇa* (or *ṇam*) of the gen. plur. (I, 5). Again the derivative suffixes *īṇa* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttana (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *naï* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*). In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*.

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the Ārsha is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used; there are exceptions in which the cerebral *ṇ* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound; but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions; for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *ṇ*; e. g. *nānam* (III, 6), but *nānam* (III, 19); *dhannam* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhannam* (III, 16).

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *ṇ*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS. B. Thus it has instr. sing. *devena* in I, 3, *nehena* in II, 27; nom. plur. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4); gen. plur. *devānam* in I, 3 (but *buddhīnam*, *nāinam*, etc.) and *no* in the sūtra of I, 5 (but *ṇa* in all examples); *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttana* in the sūtra and in all examples); *naï* in II, 17 (in the sūtra, but *naï* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS. B has uniformly the cerebral *ṇ*; viz., in the instr. sing. suffix *ṇā* (I, 3), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix *ṇo* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *tūna* (II, 19). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; viz., the nom. plur. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), and *naï* in II, 17 (only in the sūtra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom. plur. neuter (where both MSS. A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr. sing. of *a*-bases (which MS. B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *ṇ*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the Ārsha forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas.* This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *ṇ* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases; in the case of the instr. sing. suffix *ṇā*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *ṇ* in Prākṛit (at least in the Western Prākṛit), there can be no doubt; evidence of it, in the modern Western Gauḍian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prākṛit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p. xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prākṛit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandra, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prākṛit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prākṛit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prākṛit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prākṛit and the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prākṛit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings; and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype; for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prākṛit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-ṣṛuti*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prākṛit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*; for then the vowels practically tend to combine ($a+i = ai$ or ay , $a+u = o$ or au , etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* ($a+a$ or $a+\acute{a}$, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prākṛit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels ($aya = a+a$, $iya = i+a$, uya or $uva = u+a$, etc.); a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prākṛit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-ṣṛuti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prākṛit, allows the *ya-ṣṛuti* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prākṛit (*e. g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-ṣṛuti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prākṛit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses.

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chaṇḍa (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant.* Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *katujjoo* for *katojjoo*. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prākṛit, both the Jaina and the Māhārāshṭrī. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prākṛit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e. g.*, in Hindī *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prākṛit was probably this. In the later Prākṛit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116); a practice apparently unknown to the older Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*; *katujjoo* and *kaojjoo*); of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaojjoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendra*, *kṛitodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u*. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view; and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *a* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side.

ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxvi and xxviii.

The remark as to the permissive character of Chaṇḍa's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch. III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-ṣṛuti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples.

kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule; and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule; in both cases, there might be exceptions; but Chaṇḍa's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch. III, 31. II, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards detrition on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

॥ (१) ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः (२) ॥



प्रणम्य* शिरसा वीरं स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिर् अक्षरैः ।

लक्षणं प्राकृतं† वक्ष्ये किञ्चिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥

कचिल् लोपः कचित् सन्धिः कचिद् वर्षविपर्ययः ।

(१) आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ (४) अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

॥ १ ॥ सिद्धं (५) प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥ १ ॥

सिद्धं (६) प्रसिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा (७) त्रिप्रकारं (८) भवति (९) ॥ (१०) संस्कृतयोनिः ।

तच्च चेदं ॥ यज्ञः (११) जज्ञो (१२) ॥ माचा मन्ता ॥ ** नित्यं निचं । इत्यादि (१३) ॥

* C अचं वृद्धमतात् किञ्चित् प्राकृतं लक्षणं वक्ष्ये अक्षरैः स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिः शिरसा वीरं प्रणम्य ॥ † C व्यापिभिर् व्यापनशीलैः ॥ ‡ C प्राकृतं । प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं । तच्च भवे ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतं । संस्कृतं खगिणां भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता । प्राकृतं तज्जं तत्तुल्यं देशादिकम् अनेकधा ॥ § C संस्कृतयोनिः । संस्कृताद् योनिर् यस्य तत् संस्कृतयोनिः ॥ ॥ C यज्ञः यजनं । पुलिगे । यस्य जः (iii, 15 जज्ञः) । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा शाच पञ्चमो वा (iii, 6 जजः) । हजथानां रनखाः (iii, 19 जनः) । लोपे द्वित्वं (iii, 24 जज्ञः) । एदोद्रलोपा विसर्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जज्ञो) । खराणां खरे परे (ii, 1) जज्ञो ॥ ¶ C माचा काल-विशेषः स्याद् वा अचिस्यन्दनप्रमाणकालः । स्त्रीलिंगे ॥ ** C नित्यं । नपुंसके ॥

(१) C prefixes ८० = 80 ; the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work *tatvārthādhipgamam mokṣhaśāstram*, in my possession ; D pref. ६० = 60. (२) C ओं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ; D ओं नमः सिद्धं ॥ (३) So A ; C D read आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् स तु भाषितात् ; B om. the second verse altogether. (४) So A ; B C D om. this clause. (५) B om. this sūtra, giving only the commentary. (६) B om. (७) B त्रिधा ॥ (८) A D om. (९) A B om. (१०) So D ; A B C ० योनिः ॥ (११) A यज्ञ, B यज्ञाः ॥ (१२) A जज्ञा, B जज्ञाः, C D जज्ञो ॥ (१३) A B om.

(^१) संस्कृतसमं* । तच् चेदं । सूर्यो । सोमो । जालं(^२) । कंदलं(^३) ।
कोमलं(^४) । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं(^५) (C D(^६)) । तच् चेदं ॥ हर्षि-
तं(^७) ल्हसिञ्च । (^८) स्यष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलितं (^९) पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलीय ।
इत्यादि ॥

॥ २ ॥ लिंगं च(^९) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा(^{१०}) त्रिप्रकारं(^{११}) भवति ॥ देवो(^{१२}) ।
गंगा(^{१३}) । कुलं ॥

॥ ३ ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयो(^{१४}) भवन्ति ॥ सि(^{१५}) ॥ देवो† ।
अग्निः । रिपु(^{१६}) । बुद्धि(^{१७}) । धेनु(^{१८}) । नदी(^{१९}) । वृह(^{२०}) । पीठं(^{२१}) ।

* C संस्कृतसमं संस्कृतेन समं ॥ † C सूर्यो रविः । सोमो चन्द्रः । जालं पाशः । कंदलं
कलहः । कोमलं सुकुमारं ॥ ‡ C देवः । एदोद्रं (ii, 10 देवश्चो) । खराणां खरे प्रकृति-
लोपसंघयः (ii, 1) देवो । § C अग्नी अग्निः । ग्राहं (iii, 6 अग्निः) । लोपे (iii, 24
अग्निः) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4 अग्नीः) । एदोद्रं (ii, 10) अग्नी ॥ ॥ C वृह । चो
खद्यभानां (iii, 13) ॥

(१) A B सम संस्कृतं ॥ (२) A B जाल ॥ (३) A कंदल, B कं ॥ (४) A B कोमल;
C D add कमलं ॥ (५) B देशीयप्रसिद्धम्; it may be noted here, that A B not
uncommonly write स् or सु for a final anusvāra at the end of a clause or sentence.
(६) C D om. the remainder, in the place of which they have a different reading;
see Appendix C D. (७) A om. Sanskrit. (८) A पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वली । (९)
B चम् ॥ (१०) A B त्रिधा ॥ (११) A D om., B त्रिप्रकारं ॥ (१२) D adds Skr. देवः ॥
(१३) B गंगः or गंगाः ? ॥ (१४) C D prefix सप्त ॥ (१५) A B om. this case-term;
A B C D read final *स्* and *सु*, where the text has *स्* and *सु*, and C D add the
Skr. translations देवः । अग्निः । रिपुः । बुद्धिः । धेनुः । नदी । वष । पीठः । दधि ।
सधु । लं । अहं । देवाः । कुलानि । etc. (१६) C D add गुरुः । गुरु ॥ (१७) A B
बुद्धी; C D om. this example. (१८) B धेनुः; C D धेनू ॥ (१९) A C D नदी ॥
(२०) A C वृह ॥ (२१) C पीठः । पीठो ॥

दहि । मज्ज । त्वं^(१) । अहं^(२) ॥ जस् ॥ देवा^(३) । कुलानि^(४) । वयं^(५) ।
 तुह्ये अह्ये । (C D) ॥ अस्^(६) ॥ देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं^(७) । ^(८)गंगां* ।
 बुद्धिं^(९) । धेनुं । नदीं^(१०) । पीठं^(११) । दहि । मज्जं । ^(१२)त्वां मां
 तां रक्त्वत्^(१३) ॥ अस्^(१४) (B C D) ॥ टा ॥ देवेण^(१५) । गुरुणा^(१६) ।
 दहिणा^(१७) ॥ भिस् ॥ अग्निहिं^(१८) । रिपुहिं^(१९) । बुद्धिहिं^(२०) । नदीहिं^(२१) ।
 दहिहिं । मज्जहिं^(२२) । तुह्येहिं^(२३) । अह्येहिं^(२४) ॥ ङस्^(२५) (B C D) ॥
 भ्यस्^(२६) (C D) ॥ ङस्^(२७) (B C D) ॥ आस् ॥ देवानां^(२८) ।
 बुद्धीणां^(२९) । धेनूणां^(३०) । नदीणां^(३१) । तेषां^(३२) ऋतेभि^(३३) ॥ ङि^(३४)

* C गंगं गंगां । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गंगं ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-अस्) ।
 खराणां (ii, 1 धेनु-अस् or धेनुम्) । खरो (ii, 4 धेनुम्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 धेनुं) ॥
 ‡ C युष्माभिः । युष्मादे यस् तः (iii, 17 तुष्माभिः) । रश्मणां सः (iii, 18 तुष्माभिः) ।
 वर्गे (iii, 3 तुष्माभिः) । श्वयोर् (iii, 23 तुष्माभिः) । खरो (ii, 4 तुष्मेभिः) । अदागमो
 (ii, 11 तुष्मेभिः) । हिं भिस् (i, 7) तुष्मेहिं ॥ § C तेषां । तेषां । रश्मणां सः (iii, 18
 तेषां) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन षाम् इति सिं भवति । तेषां ॥

(१) So A (see Kacc. ii, 2, 21), B तुमस्, C D तुमं । (२) D अहं and, after
 it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवाः, B देवः (cf. p. 2, note १३). (४) C D कुलानि ॥
 (५) B वयं; C D have a different reading, see Appendix C D. (६) A reads
 confusedly बुद्धिं । जस् । धेनुं । पीठं । मज्जं । त्वां । मां तं रक्त्वत्, om. the rest of
 the examples of the acc. sing.; C D add the Skr. translations देवं ।
 अग्निं । गुरुं । गंगां । बुद्धिं । धेनुं । नदीं । पीठं । दहि । मज्ज ॥ (७) C D add रिपुं रिपुं
 (D in MS. रिपुं) ॥ (८) So B; C D गंगं । (९) B D बुद्धिं ॥ (१०) C D नदीं, A
 B om. (११) A B पीठं । (१२) A reads त्वा मां तं रं, B C त्वां मां तं रं नं रं, D
 त्वां तं मां तं रं ॥ (१३) A B रक्त्वत्, C D रक्त्वत् ॥ (१४) A om.; see App. B C D.
 (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr. देवेन । गुरुणा । दद्या ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जणा ॥
 (१७) D adds दहिणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्नीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिपूहिं, D रिपूहिं; B om.
 this example; A om. this and the remaining examples of the instr. plur.; C D
 add the Skr. translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दहिभिः । मधुभिः ।
 युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥ (२०) B बुद्धीहिं, C बु०; D बुद्धिहिं and adds गुरुहिं ॥ (२१)
 C D नदीहिं ॥ (२२) B C D दहौहिं, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read ंह्ये ॥ (२४) A om.;
 see App. B C D. (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5); D adds Skr. देवानां ॥ (२६) D बु० ॥
 (२७) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur.; C D धेनूणां ॥
 (२८) C D ण्दीणां ॥ (२९) B D तेषां, C om. (३०) C D add जेसिं । गिरौणं ॥

(BCD) ॥ अथ ॥ देवेषु^(१) । अग्निषु^(२) । बुद्धिषु^(३) । माला-
सु^(४) । नईसु^(५) । कुलेषु^(६) । तुन्हेषु^(७) । अन्हेषु^(८) । (CD) ॥
इत्यादि^(९) ॥

॥ ४ ॥ कश्चिद् व्यत्ययो* ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिङ्गानां कश्चिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जम्^(१०) ॥ विष्णुणो[†] ।
देवाणि^(११) रक्त्वेतु^(१२) ॥

॥ ५ ॥ भागमस्यायमो अनागमो^(१३) हो^(१४) वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५) सागमस्यामोऽनागमस्यापि णकारो भवति हो वा ॥ ताणं ताहं ॥
देवाणं^(१६) देवाहं । कम्माणं । कम्माहं । (१७) सरिताणं सरिताहं । (CD) ।
(१८) तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ संख्याया^(१९) उदाः ॥ ६ ॥

* C व्यत्ययः । विपर्ययः ॥ † C विष्णुणो । विद्युत् । अदागमो (ii, 11 विद्यु) ।
वर्माद् (iii, 5 विद्यु) । तवर्मास्य (iii, 16 विद्यु) । लोपे (iii, 24 विष्णु) । णो
उत्सथ (i, 12 विष्णुणो) ॥ ‡ C ताणं । ताहं । तेषां ॥ § C सर्वेषां शब्दानां अये आम्
करणीयं । एकस्मिन् स्थाने णः द्वितीयस्थाने हो विकल्पेन द्वौ कर्तव्यौ ॥ ॥ C देवानां ।
कर्माणां । सरितां । युष्माकं ॥

(१) A om., D देवेषु; B prefixes Skr. देवेषु ॥ (२) A B अग्नीषु, CD
अग्नीषु ॥ (३) A बुद्धीषु, B C बु०, D बुद्धीषु ॥ (४) A C om., CD add
मालासु ॥ (५) A om., C नईषु, D नईषु ॥ (६) CD om. (७) D तुन्हेषु,
and adds तुन्हेषु ॥ (८) B अन्हेषु, C अन्हेषु, D अन्हेषु ॥ (९) BCD एवमादि
इत्यर्थः ॥ (१०) So A; BCD एसो जसि, CD add एसो । कुलो ॥ (११) C
adds देवाहं देवाहं; D adds देवाहं ॥ (१२) D रक्त्वेतु ॥ (१३) B नो ॥ (१४) D
om. (१५) B सागमस्यायमो अनागम ॥ (१६) B om. (१७) ACD सरियाणं
सरियाहं; B सरियाणां सरियाहं; D prefixes सरितां ॥ (१८) A B तुम्हाणं
तुम्हाहं; D तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ (१९) CD संख्यायाः ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप् आसो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) ।

*पंचपहं । †तीसपहं^(१) । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6^a ॥ (C D) ॥ ६^a ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि^(२) भिषः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिषो हि^(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं[‡] । गामेहिं^(३) । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हितो^(४) श्वसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसो^(५) हितो भवति ॥ गामेहितो^(६) । सिद्धे-
हितो^(७) । बुद्धिहितो^(८) । धेनुहितो^(९) । नईहितो^(१०) । तुम्हेहितो^(११) ।
अन्हेहितो^(१२) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ द्वतीयादीनाम् एत्वम्^(१३) एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

द्वतीयादीनां टाडसिङ्मङि-वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए[‡] ।
बुद्धीए^(१४) । नईए^(१५) । वह्मए^(१६) । तीए^(१७) । ताए ॥ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओउलोपा^(१८) जसशसोः^(१९) ॥ १० ॥

* C पंचपहं । पंचानां ॥ पंचन् । अदागमो० (ii, 11 पंच) । संख्याया षष्ठः (i, 6 पंचपह) । अनुसारो० (ii, 15 पंचपह) ॥ † C तीसपहं । त्रिंशतां ॥ त्रिंशत् । रेफः० (iii, 9 त्रिंशत्) । अनुसारो० (ii, 15 त्रिंशत्) । खरो० (ii, 4 तीसन्) । रश्मिणां सः (iii, 18 तीसन्) । तस्य च इत् अनेन तलोपः (iii, 33 तीस) । संख्याया षष्ठः (i, 6 तीसपह) । अनुसारो० (ii, 15 तीसपह) ॥ ‡ C देवेहिं । देवैः ॥ § C गंगाए । गंगया । गंगायाः गंगायाः । गंगार्या ॥ ॥ C तीए ताए । तथा तस्याः तस्याः तस्यां ॥

(१) A तीसपहं ; C D prefix वीसपहं । (२) B C D हिं ॥ (३) C D om. ; but see App. C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिषो ॥ (६) A C om., B D गमाहितो ; D prefixes गामेभ्यः ॥ (७) A सिद्धीहितो, B सिद्धाहितो ; C D read देवेहिंतो and add अमीहिंतो । गुरुहिंतो ॥ (८) B C बुद्धीहिंतो, A D बु० ॥ (९) C D धेनुहिंतो, A B धेनु० ॥ (१०) C D नईहिंतो ॥ (११) B D तुम्हो० and अहो० ॥ (१२) A om. ; see i, 29. (१३) A एकत्वम्, B एत्वम् ॥ (१४) A B D बु० ॥ (१५) C D नईए ॥ (१६) A व० ॥ (१७) C D place ताए । तीए ॥ (१८) A ओउ० ; B ओउलोपो ॥ (१९) C D जसशसोः, B जसशोः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्त्तमानयोर^(१) जश्शसोर^(२) ओऽलोपाश्च भवन्ति^(३) ॥

(^४)मालाओ मालाउ माला । (^५)बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । (^६)धेनूओ धेनूउ धेनू । नईओ नईउ नई* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10^a ॥ (CD) ॥ १०^a ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुंसि पूर्व्वत्^(७) ॥ ११ ॥

पुंसि^(८) पुंस्त्रिंशे वर्त्तमानयोर जश्शसोः^(९) पूर्व्वस्त्रो भवति ॥
अग्नी^(९) । गुरु ॥

॥ 11^a ॥ C ॥ ११^a ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो ङसेश्च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंस्त्रिंशे वर्त्तमानयोर जश्शसोर^(९) णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥
अग्निणो जलन्ति । मुणिणो पस्स^(१०) ॥ गिरिणो एति^(११) नई^(१२) ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्मश्^(१३) च ङस्^(१४) ॥ १३ ॥

पुंसि वर्त्तमानस्य ङसो णो भवति । स्मश्^(१३) च भवति^(१५) ॥ मुणिणो

* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples; but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each

form; thus ^{१३}मालाओ ॥ † C यादृशः पूर्व्वशब्दस्य खरखादृश एव कर्त्तव्यः ॥ ‡ C अग्रयः ज्वलन्ति ॥ § C मुनीन् पश्य ॥ ॥ C गिरेः सकाशात् एति नदीः । B गिरितः एति व्रतौ ॥ ¶ B मुनेः रूपं ॥

(१) A reads वर्त्तमाना एते भवन्ति ॥ (२) CD जश्शसोर ॥ (३) B reads उ ओ भवन्ति । लोपो भवति ॥ (४) A has final ओ, and D has final उ, instead of ओ, in all examples; exc. D नईओ; B places मालाउ मालाओ and so on throughout. (५) B वु in all three examples. (६) A CD णू for नू in all three examples. (७) B पूर्व्ववत् ॥ (८) A om. (९) CD prefix देवा ॥ (१०) B पस्सन्ति ॥ (११) A B C एद, D एई ॥ (१२) A C D एई, B वई ॥ (१३) B सश्च ॥ (१४) A ङसेणः ॥ (१५) A om.

(१) रूपं (२) मुणिसू रूपं । *अग्निषो सिद्धा अग्निस्स सिद्धा ॥ (३) देवस्स सोद्धा । (CD) ॥

॥ 14 ॥ ए स्मि ङः ॥ १४ ॥

पुंसि डिवचनस्य ए^(४) भवति । स्मि च भवति ॥ (५) अग्निस्मि ।

(६) गुरुस्मि ॥ (७) गामे गामस्मि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (८) इ प्रसेत्तः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः^(९) अकाराद् उत्तरस्य शसः^(१०) पुङ्क्तिं ए भवति ॥ देवे ॥ वंभणे^(११) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (१२) तोतुहितोलोपात् तस्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(१२) पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य^(१४) तोतुहितोलोपा^(१५) एते

* BC अग्नेः शिखा ॥ † O देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ O अग्नौ ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निषो (i, 11. 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्निं । अग्नी or अग्निषो (i, 11. 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्निषा (i, 6^a) । अग्नीहिं (i, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्स । अग्नीणं or अग्नीहं (ii, 13. i, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्निषो (i, 12) । अग्नीहितो (i, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्स (i, 13) । अग्नीणं or अग्नीहं (i, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्निर^(१६) or अग्निस्मि (i, 14) । अग्नीसु or अग्नीसुं (i, 3. ii, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ हे अग्नी । हे अग्नी or हे अग्निषो ॥ एवं इकारांतानां सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ § O गुरो । गुरु । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ १ ॥ गुरुं । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरुहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुषो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुहं ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुषो । गुरुहिंते ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुषो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुहं ॥ ६ ॥ गुरर^(१६) or गुरुस्मि । गुरुसु or गुरुसुं ॥ ७ ॥ हे गुरु । हे गुरु or हे गुरुषो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ ॥ O देवान् । ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(१) A reads पस्स (see i, 12) ; B C D रुवं ॥ (२) C D रुवं ; A B om. मुणिसू रूपं । अग्निषो सिद्धा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स सोद्धा before अग्निस्स सिद्धा ; A B om. (४) C D एस्मिन् भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्निर, B C D अग्नौ ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरर, C गुरुह ; but not A B. (७) C D prefix देवे । देवस्मि ॥ (८) B om. this sūtra and its commentary. (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शसः ॥ (११) A वंभणे (see ii, 15). (१२) A B C D read ओउ for तोतु, and C D insert हिं after उ ; B has the marginal note हिं वुडि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आगत आदे, B पंचमी अत आदे, C पंचमी अत । आदे, D पंचत् परस्य आदे ; C had originally आत, but the long ā is changed to a by yellow pigment. (१४) B आदेशतकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D ओउ for तोतु ॥ * (१६) MS. अग्नीए and गुरुए ॥

आदेशा भवन्ति^(१) ॥ ^(२)गयणातो* । गयणातु । गयणाहितो^(३) ।
गयणा^(४) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमोः^(५) के धर्हीरुपभां^(६) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्^(७) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वदित्ववज्जलेषु स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य
से भवति ॥ तस्याः^(८) रूपं से रूपं^(९) । तस्याः^(९) गुणाः^(१०) से गुणाः^(११) ।
^(१२)अस्याः रूपं से रूपं^(१३) । ^(१४)अस्याः गुणाः से गुणा । एवं शेषेष्व्
अपि द्रष्टव्याः^(१५) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युष्मद्ः ॥ १८ ॥

अतः^(१६) ऊर्द्धं युष्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

* C गगनात् । कगचज० (or कटतीय० iii, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गचन) ।
अस्थिते यत्नम् अचर्णः (or य० अचर्णं iii, 35 गचन) । तदगस्य० (iii, 16 गचन) । खरो०
(ii, 4 गचन) । यो० (i, 16) इति गयणाचो ॥ † C गयणो^(१७) । गयणा । हे गयणो ।
हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयणं । गयणा or गयणे (i, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहिं or गयणेचि or
गयणेहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाचो or गयणाउ or गयणाहिं or
गयणाहितो or गयणा । गयणेहिंते ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे
or गयणमि । गयणेसु or गयणेषु ॥ ७ ॥ एवं सर्वेषां अकारान्तानां रूपं नेयं ॥ ‡ C युष्म-
न्वदस्य रूपाणि ॥ तुमं । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुम् or तुमं । तुम्भे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तद्
or तद् । तुम्हेहिं or तुम्हेचि or तुम्हेहिं ॥ ३ ॥ तुम् or तुम्भ or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or
तुम्हाहं or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हाहिं or तुम्हाहितो or तुम्हाचो or तद्मो । तुम्हेहिंते ॥ ५ ॥
तुम् or तुम्भ or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाहं or तुम्ह ॥ ६ ॥ तद् or तुममि । तुम्हेसु
or तुम्हेसु ॥ ७ ॥

(१) A adds हिं; B C D insert हिं after 'तु' ॥ (२) A गयणो, गयणउ
with अ, B C D गयणाचो । गयणाउ (with अ). (३) A गयणाहितो (with अ); it
also adds गयणाहिं (with अ), while B C D prefix it. (४) C D add एवं देवादयः ॥
(५) A B D 'सो' ॥ (६) A om. षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D तत् ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A;
B C D रूपं ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणाः ॥ (१२) A B om. the two last
examples. (१३) A B C D रूपं ॥ (१४) D om. this example, but, on the other
hand, adds तयोः रूपं से रूपं । तासां रूपं से रूपं ॥ (१५) B 'या' ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥
(१७) So in MS., as मास्.

॥ 19 ॥ (१) तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ १८ ॥

युष्मच्छब्दस्य सविभक्तेः सौ परतः^(१) तुमं आदेशो भवति ॥ (१) तुमं देवो^(४) ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 20 ॥ (५) अमि तुए^(६) च ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो अमि परे^(७) तुमं भवति तुए च । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमं भणामि* तुए भणामि^(८) ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ (९) तुम्मे^(१०) जसि ॥ २१ ॥

युष्मदो^(११) जसि परे तुम्मे^(१०) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्मे^(१०) †मनुस्सा^(१२) खरा^(१३) ॥

॥ 22 ॥ तुम्मे^(१४) शसि ॥ २२ ॥

युष्मदः^(१५) शसि परे तुम्मे^(१४) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्मे^(१४) †मनुस्सा^(१६) भणामि^(१७) ॥

* C भणामि । संस्कृतसमम् अत्र ॥ † C माणुस्सा । मनुष्य ॥ खरो० (ii, 4 माणुष्य) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 माणुष्य) । रश्मिणां सः (iii, 18 माणुष्य) । श्वलेभ्यो० (iii, 2 माणुष्य) । सोपे० (iii, 24 माणुस्सा) । पंसि० (i, 11 माणुस्सा) । खराणां० (ii, 1) माणुस्सा ॥ ‡ C here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial खरो० ॥

(१) C reads तं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ तुमं सौ स०; D तं तँ तुवं तुहं तुमं सौ स० ॥ (२) CD read परत एते पंच आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (३) C reads तं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ त्वं तुमं दिटो ॥ (४) C दिटो, D दिटो ॥ (५) CD place this sūtra after the following. (६) CD add तुमं तं ॥ (७) CD read तुए तुमं तं च भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ (८) C D place this example before the other, and add तं भणामि ॥ (९) C D place this sūtra before the preceding one. (१०) So B, A तुम्हे, C तुम्हे, D तुम्हे ॥ (११) A places जसि परे after भवति ॥ (१२) So B; A मणुस्सा, C D माणुस्सा; in C मणुस्सा is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (माणुस्सा) is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (१३) A खरा, B श्वरा; C D add the Skr. translation घृयं मनुष्याः श्वराः (C in MS. खराः) ॥ (१४) A तुम्हे, B तुम्हे ॥ (१५) A ंदश् ॥ (१६) A मणुस्सा, C D मणुस्सा ॥ (१७) C D add Skr. युष्मान् मनुष्यान् भणामि ॥

॥ २३ ॥ ते तुमे तद् तए टार्था^(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युष्मदः^(१) टावचने ^(१)परे ते तुमे तद् तए एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ किं^(४) ते कतं^(५) । तुमे *दिटो^(६) । तद् मज्जं^(७) कतं^(५) ।
तए पलातं^(८) ॥

॥ २४ ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहितो^(९) तुमातो^(१०) तदत्तो^(११) पंचम्यां ॥ २४ ॥

युष्मदः^(११) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं^(११) तुमाहितो^(१४) तुमातो^(१५)
तदत्तो^(११) एते आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरो^(१६)
तुमाहितो^(१०) अहं सुहयो^(१८) । तुमातो^(१०) अहं ॥ नाणौ^(१९) ।
तदत्तो^(११) निक्खंतो^(२०) ॥ (C D) ॥

* C दिटो । दृष्टः ॥ खरारि० (ii, 5) इत्युचनेन सूत्रेण दृ इत्युच्यते दि भवति (दिष्टः) ।
वर्गो (iii, 3) इत्युचनेन सूत्रेण दृ इति प्रकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (दिष्टः) । लोपे० (iii, 24
दिष्टः) । तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिष्टः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 दिष्टो) । खराणां० (ii, 1 दिष्टो) ॥
† C B लया मध्यं कृतं ॥ ‡ B पलातं । प्रलातं ॥ C पलत्तं । प्रलत्तं ॥ § B लदहं
ज्ञानी ॥ ॥ C ज्ञानी । वर्णविस्त्रेभे कृते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । शाब्द० (iii, 6) इत्युचनेन
जलोपः (ज्ञानी) । जजयानां० (iii, 19 नानी) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 नाणौ) ॥

(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दृ ॥ (३) A om. परे-एते incl. (४) A किन्ते ॥
(५) A B C D कथं; C D add the Skr. translations किं लया कृतं । लया दृष्टः ।
लया मम (B मध्यं in marginal gloss, q. v.) कृतं । लया प्रलत्तं (so C; D प्रलपितं) ॥
(६) A B दिटो, C दिटो, D दिटो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्ज कथं, B मञ्चकियं, C D मज्ज कथं ॥
(८) A पलात, B पलातं, C पलत्तं, D पलवितं ॥ (९) B तुमाहितो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाउ,
B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तदतो ॥ (१२) A ०दृ ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिम् इत्यादयः, om.
the other forms. (१४) B तुमाहितो, A om. (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाउ, A om.
(१६) B सूरो; D adds the Skr. translations लदु अहं शूरः । लदु अहं सुभगः । लदु
अहं ज्ञानी । लदु अहं निष्क्रान्तः, C om. them in the text, but gives them in the
marginal gloss. (१७) A om. तुमाहितो ॥ (१८) B orig. संहयो, corr. सु०; D
सुहउ ॥ (१९) B जाणौ, A C D नाणौ (see iii, G. iii, 19). (२०) So D; C नि०,
A निक्खान्तो, B रक्खवंतो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तुह तुज्झ^(१) तुन्ह^(२) षष्ठ्यां ॥ २५ ॥

युग्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे ^(१)तुह तुज्झ^(४) तुन्ह^(५) एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ *तुह सीलं^(६) । तुज्झ^(१) कलाओ^(७) । तुन्ह^(८) गुणा^(९) ॥

॥ 25^a ॥ C D ॥ २५^a ॥

॥ 25^b ॥ C D ॥ २५^b ॥

॥ 26 ॥ अस्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

अत^(१०) ऊर्द्ध^(११) अस्मदध्यायो भवति^(१२) ॥

॥ 26^a ॥ C D ॥ २६^a ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ C D ॥ २६^b ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ C D ॥ २६^c ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ C D ॥ २६^d ॥

॥ 27 ॥ मे मए टायां ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मदः^(१३) टावचने परे मे मए भवतः । सविभक्तेः^(१४) ॥ †मे कतं^(१५) ।
मए दिट्ठं^(१६) ॥

॥ 28 ॥ मदत्तो^(१७) ऊसो ॥ २८ ॥

* C तव सीलं । तव कलाः । तव गुणाः ॥ † B मया कतं ॥

(१) A तुम्ह, B तुम्हम् ॥ (२) B तुज्झ, C D तुन्हः ॥ (३) A om. तुह, तुज्झ, तुन्ह ॥
(४) B तुम्हम् ॥ (५) B तुज्झ, D तुम्हा ॥ (६) A सीलं ॥ (७) A कलाओ, B कला ॥
(८) A B तुज्झ ॥ (९) A गुणी ॥ (१०) B इत, D अतः ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्ध ॥
(१२) A निरूप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दप् ॥ (१४) A B om. (१५) A B C D कतं ;
C D add the Skr. translations मया कतं । मया दृष्टं ॥ (१६) A दिट्ठ, B दिट्ठं ॥
(१७) So A ; B C D मदत्तो ॥

असदः^(१) पंचम्येकवचने परे मदन्तो^(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मदन्तो^(३)
तुमं सूरु^(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अन्दाहितो^(५) भसि ॥ २९ ॥

असदो^(६) भसि परे अन्दाहितो^(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः^(७) ॥ अन्दाहितो^(८)
तुमं सूरु^(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ ^(१०)मह मज्झ^(११) छसि ॥ ३० ॥

असदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मह मज्झ^(१२) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ †मह
सीलं^(१३) । मज्झ गुणा^(१४) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अन्धम्^(१५) आमि ॥ ३१ ॥

असद^(१६) आमि परे अन्धं^(१७) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ †अन्धं^(१८) चिय
ते दोषा^(१९) ॥

॥ 31* ॥ ॥ CD ॥ ३१* ॥

॥ I ॥ इति चंडकते प्राकृतलक्षणे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

* C मदन्तो । मत् ॥ † C मम सीलं^(१८) । मम गुणाः ॥ ‡ B अस्माकन्ते दोषाः ॥

(१) A ०दम् ॥ (२) CD मदन्तो; B दन्तो om. म; A से मए भवतः (see i, 27).
(३) A मदन्तो, B CD मदन्तो ॥ (४) A शूरु; B places it before तुमं; D adds
Skr. translation लं शूरुः ॥ (५) A अन्दाहितो ॥ (६) B ०दः ॥ (७) A B C om.
(८) A अन्दाहितो, B अन्दाहितो ॥ (९) A शूरु ॥ (१०) B om. sūtra and comment,
but gives the examples. (११) A मज्झ, CD मज्झो ॥ (१२) A सीलं; CD add
मज्झ सीलं । मह गुणा ॥ (१३) B सीलं ॥ (१४) D अस्माकम् ॥ (१५) B CD ०दः ॥
(१६) D अस्माकम् ॥ (१७) B दोषाः; CD add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते
दोषाः ॥ (१८) MS. सिलं ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1^a ॥ D ॥ १^a ॥॥ I ॥ 1 ॥ खराणां खरे^(१) प्रकृतिर्लोपसंघः ॥ १ ॥

खराणां खरे परे^(१) (१) प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संघयश् च भवन्ति । *इह^(४)
 अक्षति^(५) । †इहक्षति^(६) । ‡इहागतो^(७) ॥ ‡मह^(८) इव हितो ।
 ॥ देविद्वंदितो^(९) । ॥ सक्तीमाणा^(१०) ॥ **स ईसरो^(११) । ††तियसीसो^(१२) ।
 ‡‡गहसो^(१३) ॥ ‡‡चंदुज्जला^(१४) । ‡‡‡तपोपरोहो ॥ (१५) सा ऊढा ।
 ॥ ॥ नीसामसामा^(१६) । ***मोरो^(१७) ॥ †††गामत्रो^(१८) गामो ॥

* C इह अक्षर । प्रकृति । अथ तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्य् अनेन
 अकारस्य इ भवति (इच) । रेफः० (iii, 9 इत) । प्रथमः० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य
 थकारः (इथ) । पुनः प्रथमः० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन थकारस्य धकारः (इध) । सो० (iii, 13 इह) ।
 इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति^(१९) । कगचज० (iii, 34 इहति) । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन
 दकारस्य अकारः (अइति) । षाहः० (iii, 8 अषति) । रग्रषा० (iii, 18 अषति) । सस्य खरहाः
 (iii, 14 अक्षति) । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 अक्षति) । पुनः कगचज० (iii,
 34 अक्षर) ॥ † B C अथ अकारस्य लोपः ॥ ‡ B इहागतः । C संधि । अथ आगतः ॥
 § B मख इव हितः ॥ ॥ C लोपः । देवेन्द्रवन्दितः ॥ ॥ B शक्रश्च^(२०) ईशानश्च । अलोपः ॥
 C लोपः । शक्र अथ ईशान । द्विवचने वङ्गवचने (see ii, 12) । शक्रश्च ईशानश्च
 शक्रेशानौ ॥ ** B स ईश्वरः । C संधिः । शच्या ईश्वरः । शचीश्वरः ॥ †† C लोपः । निदम
 अथ ईशः । निदेशः । निदेशानां ईशः ॥ ‡‡ C संधिः । प्रघाणां ईशः ॥ §§ C लोपः ।
 चंद्र अथ उज्जला । चंद्रवत् उज्जला ॥ ‡‡‡ B तपसः उपरोधः । C संधिः । तपोपरोधः ॥
 ॥ ॥ B निःश्वासश्च उच्छ्वासश्च । अलोपः । C लोपः । (२१) निःश्वासश्च उच्छ्वासश्च । निःश्वासे-
 च्छ्वासौ ॥ *** C संधिः । मोरो । मरुः ॥ ††† B ग्रामतः ग्रामः । C ग्रामात् ग्रामो । प्रकृतिः ।
 ग्रामो ग्रामो । संधिः । ग्रामात् ग्रामः । but see note to translation.

(१) B om. (२) B C D परतः ॥ (३) So A B ; C D प्रकृतिर्लोपसंघश्च ॥ (४) A
 has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others ; B places *, §, †, ‡.
 (५) A अक्षर, B C D अक्षर । (६) B C D इहक्षर । (७) B इहागत, C इहागता, D
 इहागता । (८) A महर् इव हित, B महर् इव हित्य (see marginal gloss), C D om. this
 example. (९) B ०दिज, D ०दिज, A C om. (see ii, 2). (१०) B ०शफे, A om.
 (११) C D ईसरो, B ईसरो, A om. (१२) B तीसो, A om. (१३) B गहसो, A om.
 (१४) B बंदज्जला, A om. (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D भाउढा or डाउढा (?) ॥
 (१६) So B ; A om., C D णीसा० ॥ (१७) C D add मरुः ॥ (१८) B ग्रामानामो । ग्रामो
 ग्रामात् ग्रामो, C ग्रामात् ग्रामो, D ग्रामात् ग्रामो ॥ (१९) So MS. and accordingly
 the explanation षाहः ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रश्च ईशानश्च ॥ (२१) MS. निःश्वा०, उच्छ्वा० ॥

बुद्धी^(१) इमा* । † बुद्धिंदो^(२) । बुद्धीसो† ॥ बुद्धीओ^(३) । नईओ^(४) ॥

॥ 1^b ॥ D ॥ १^a ॥

॥ 1^c ॥ D ॥ १^c ॥

॥ 2 ॥ ^(४)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

^(४)संयोगे परे स्वरे परतः पूर्वस्वरस्य^(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ धनाह्वाः^(६) धनड्डो^(७) । देव इन्द्रः^(८) देविंदो । हत उद्योगः^(९) कतुज्जोओ^(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वत्वं संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

स्वराणां ह्रस्वत्वं^(११) भवति । ^(१२)संयोगेऽक्षरे^(१२) परे ॥ ^(१४)कत्वं^(१५) । कज्जं । ॥ इच्छितं^(१६) । तिक्वं ॥ **सिग्घो^(१७) । ††उड्डु^(१८) । सुज्जो^(१९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ स्वरौऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥ ४ ॥

* O बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृतिः ॥ † B बुद्धिन्द्रः । C लोपः । बुद्धि इन्द्रः ॥ ‡ O बुद्धीसो । संधिः ॥ § C प्रकृतिः । बुद्धयः । नद्यः ॥ ॥ B ईप्सित । C इच्छितं । ईप्सितं ॥ श्रे वर्गोऽयं (iii, 4 ईप्सितं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 ईप्सितं) । लोपो० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 ईप्सितं) । ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 इच्छितं) । कगचज० (iii, 34 इच्छितं) ॥ ¶ C तौच्छं । † वर्णविच्छेपे कृते सति क् ष् ण् थं इति स्थिताः भवन्ति । रश्मपा० (iii, 18 तौक्स्मण्) । श्राच० (iii, 6 तौक्स्मं) । श्रे० (iii, 4 तौक्स्मं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 तौक्स्मं) । लोपो० (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तौक्स्मं) । ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 तिक्वं) ॥ ** B सिग्घं ॥ †† B ऊड्डं ॥

(१) B D बु० here and afterwards. (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal gloss). (३) B prefixes एवं बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरि ॥ (५) A पूर्वस्वरूपस्य ॥ (६) A ंदुः, B ंद्यः ॥ (७) A धनाह्वा, B धनड्डो, C D धणड्डो ॥ (८) B देवेन्द्रः ॥ (९) A उद्योगः, C D उद्योगतः ॥ (१०) A कतुज्जो, B C कउज्जोओ, D कउज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वत्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाक्षरे ॥ (१४) C prefixes धणड्डो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations कायं । कार्यं । ईप्सितं । तौच्छं । शीघ्रः । ऊड्डं । खर्यः; see also B in the marginal gloss. (१५) B कत्वं ॥ (१६) A B O D इच्छितं ॥ (१७) A om. this and the remaining examples; O सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्डं (see iii, 5. 9), C D उड्डं ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

खरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातव्यं^(१) । †मुद्रणं^(२) । इंगाला^(३) ।
B C D । ‡बुद्धीए^(४) । घेनूए^(५) । नेपुरं^(६) । B C D । कुचापि गच्छति^(७)
कत्य^(८) पि गच्छति^(९) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ खरा^(१०) रि च ऋवर्णस्य^(११) ॥ ५ ॥

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने खरा^(१२) भवति । रि च भवति^(१३) ॥ घृतं घतं^(१४) ।
कृत्वा कातृण^(१५) । दृश्यते दीसते^(१६) । ऋषिः^(१७) इमि^(१८) । पृथ्वी
पुथ्वी^(१९) । वृद्धः^(२०) वुद्धो^(२१) । वृतं^(२२) वेटं^(२३) । उल्लहं उक्कोसं^(२४) ।
ऋणं रिणं । (C D) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ ^(२५)एर ऐतः ॥ ६ ॥

ऐतः^(२६) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ ‡वेतड्डो^(२७) । तेल्लं^(२८) । सेंधवं ।
॥ वैरं^(२९) ॥

॥ ७ ॥ अइ च ॥ ७ ॥

* B कर्तव्यं ॥ † B खचीनां^(२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्ध्या ॥ § B वेतालः ॥ ॥ C मम वैरं
केनापि सह न ॥

(१) A कायचं, B कायच, C कायव्यं, D कायव्यं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst. Prae. pp. 141. 365); C D add the following Skr. translations कर्तव्यं । खजनं । खंगाराः ; see also B in the marginal gloss. (२) A ऋसुद्रणं, D खद्रणं ॥ (३) A इंगाल, B इंगालौ ॥ (४) A B D बु० ; D prefixes बुडे ॥ (५) A C D घेनूए ॥ (६) A नेजरं, B नेजरं, C ऐवरं, D ऐवरं ॥ (७) A om. (८) A om., B कचं वि, D कच्छ वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B खरो ॥ (११) B om. (१२) B reads अन्यखरो भवति ॥ (१३) A om. (१४) A B C D घयं ॥ (१५) A काडण, B काडण, C D काकण ; D adds तूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसर ॥ (१७) So C ; A B D ऋषि ॥ (१८) So A B C D ; C D add व्यास ऋषिः वास इमि ॥ (१९) A B C D पुथ्वी ॥ (२०) A B C D वृद्धो ॥ (२१) A B वुद्धो, C D वुद्धो ॥ (२२) A B D वृतं ॥ (२३) A विटं, B वितं, C D विटं ॥ (२४) A उक्कोसं, B उक्कोसा, C उक्क । सं, D उक्कसं (see iii, 8). (२५) A ऐरतः ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेसड्डो, B वेसड्डो, C D वेसड्डो ; C D prefix the Skr. translations वेतालः । तेल्लं । सेंधवं । वैरं ; see also B in marg. gloss. (२८) A तेल्लं ॥ (२९) C D add मज्झा ण कोण वि (see marg. gloss). (३०) MS. खचीनां ॥

ऐतः^(१) स्थाने अद्^(२) च^(३) भवति । ऐश्वर्यं^(४) अद्सरियं^(५) । वैरं^(६) वद्दरं^(७) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर्^(८) औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः^(९) स्थाने ओ^(१०) भवति ॥ ^(११)ओसहं^(१२) । ^(१३)सौवचलं^(१४) ॥
॥ 9 ॥ अउ^(१५) च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः^(९) स्थाने अउ च^(१६) भवति ॥ ^(१७)सउरो^(१८) । कउरवा । कउला । (C D) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्दलोपा^(१९) विस्मर्जनीयस्य^(२०) ॥ १० ॥

एत् औत् रलोपा^(२१) विस्मर्जनीयस्य स्थाने भवन्ति ॥ कतरे^(२२) गच्छति^(२३) । *दित्तरूपे^(२४) । देवो । विंभणे । पुणरपि^(२५) । स^(२६) एम्^(२७) । ^(२८)वति^(२९) । बुद्धि^(३०) । वैवह^(३१) ॥

॥ 11 ॥ ^(३२)अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपा च व्यंजनस्य^(३३) ॥ ११ ॥

* O दीप्तरूपः ॥ † O ब्राह्मणः ॥ ‡ O पुनरपि । (पुनः अपि) । र प्रत्ययः (ii, 10 पुनरपि) । अप्यस्योर् अलोपः (ii, 18 पुनरपि) । प्रथमस्य (iii, 12 पुनरपि) ॥ § C वधूः ॥

(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अद् ॥ (३) C om. B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐश्वर्यं ॥ (५) B C D सरियं ॥ (६) D वैरं ॥ (७) B om.; C D add the example वै वद्, whereto C has the marg. gloss वै स्फुटनिश्चययोः ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B औत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औषधं D ऊषधं ॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D उसहं ॥ (१३) C pref. Skr. सौचलं, D सौवचलं ॥ (१४) A सौवचलं, C सौचलं, D सौवचलं : C D add the example सौधं सौहं ॥ (१५) B अउ ॥ (१६) B C om. (१७) C D pref. Skr. सौरः । कौरवाः । कौलाः ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A एदो, D एदा; B (corrupt) एदोद्दलोपा ॥ (२०) B व्यंजनस्य ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो दलोपा ॥ (२२) A कपोरे, B कयादि; C D read कतरे and pref. Skr. कतरे गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छति, B C D गच्छ; C D add the example अंतःपुरं । अंतरे ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूपे, B तित्तरूपे, D दित्तरूपे; C adds वीलजिणे (in marg. gloss वीरजिनः), D वालजिणे ॥ (२५) D पुनरपि; C D pref. Skr. पुनः अपि; A om. this example; B adds एतं दिदं (MS. एवं दिदं) ॥ (२६) A om. (२७) B C D वधू; C adds Skr. पतिः, D पति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धी, D बुद्धी; C had originally बुद्धी, now it has been changed to वधू; B C D place वह ॥ बुद्धी ॥ (२९) A वह, B वह ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om. च ॥ (३१) A विवह ॥

(^१) अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपा च व्यंजनस्य भवन्ति ॥ *अरहन्तो(^२) ।
 †सरिताणं(^३) । (CD) ॥ ‡कर्म(^४). (CD) । §सीसं(^५) ॥ नहं(^६) ।
 ॥सिरेणं(^७) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ ¶द्वित्वं वज्रवचनेन(^८) ॥ १२ ॥

(^९)द्विवचनं वज्रवचनेन(^{१०}) वाच्यं ॥ **इत्या । पाया । देवा ।
 वंभणा(^{११}) । CD ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच्(^{१२}) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच्(^{१३}) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ ††नमो(^{१४}) जिनस्स(^{१५}) । नमो(^{१६})
 गुरुणो(^{१७}) ॥

॥ 13^a ॥ CD ॥ १३^a ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ CD ॥ १३^b ॥

* C अरहन्त । अदागमः ॥ † B सरित् इति अत्र तकारस्य च आगमः ॥ C सरित् ।
 अदागमः ॥ ‡ B कर्मइति अत्र रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic!) ॥ C कर्मन् ॥ § B
 श्रीर्षमित्यत्र रेफलोपः (sic!) ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ॥ B शिरसि(^{१७}) सलोपः ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ¶ C
 दुवयणे(^{१८}) वज्रवचनं चउत्थिविभनौर वड्ढी(^{१९}) भक्षर । जइ इत्य तइ पाया । वंभामि
 देवाहं(^{२०}) देवाणं ॥ ** C इत्थो । पादौ । देवौ । ब्राह्मणौ ॥ †† B नमो जिनाय इति
 नमो गुरुवे इत्यत्र चतुर्थी षष्ठी त्रया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरुवे ॥

(^१) A adds भवन्ति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाश्च ॥ (^२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (^३)
 A सरियाणं, B C D सरियाणं ॥ (^४) B adds रकम् (सकम्?, see App. CD), D
 prefixes कर्मन्, श्रीर्षन्, शिरसा to कर्म, सीसं, सिरेणं respectively. (^५) A सीसं ॥
 (^६) B नहं; A C D om. (^७) A om. (^८) C D वज्रवचनेन ॥ (^९) C D prefix
 सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च विभक्तीनां ॥ (^{१०}) D व० ॥ (^{११}) A वंभणा (see ii, 15).
 (^{१२}) B C D om. (^{१३}) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (^{१४}) C D एमो ॥ (^{१५}) A जिणस्स, B
 जिनस्य, C D जिणस्स ॥ (^{१६}) C D add एमो अरहन्ताणं ॥ (^{१७}) MS. शिरसि ॥ (^{१८})
 MS. दुव्व० ॥ (^{१९}) MS. now has चउत्थिविभनौर, om. वड्ढी; but in the place of थि
 and न्ति there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with
 yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (^{२०}) MS. देवाहि (cf. 1, 5).

॥ 14 ॥ न झुतडजाः^(१) ॥ १४ ॥

(१) झुता वर्णाः (२) डकारञकारौ च^(४) न भवन्ति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो वज्रछं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य कचिल् लोपो भवति । कचिद् आगमः^(५) । कचित् प्रकृतिः^(६) ।
। C D ॥ वंभणा^(७) । *मंजरो^(८) । विंचुओ^(९) । †चुनी^(१०) । काणं^(११) ।
काहं^(१२) । नईहिं^(१३) ॥ ‡सकृतं^(१४) । (C D) ॥ संगो^(१५) । भंगो^(१६) ।
(C D) । दुङ्गं^(१७) । समिद्धं^(१८) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोए गावि^(१९) ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि^(१९) इति^(२०) भवति निपातेन ॥ ‡गावी^(२१) ।
गावीओ^(२२) । गावीं^(२३) । गावीए^(२४) । गावीहिं^(२५) । गावीहिते^(२६) ।
गावीणं^(२७) । गावीसुं^(२८) ॥

* C मञ्जारः ॥ † C चूर्णः (of. note १०). ‡ C संकृतं ॥ § C गौः । गावः or गाः ।
गां । गवा । गेः । गोः । गवि (see i, 9.) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवां or गोवां । गोषु ॥

(१) C D insert न (see iii, 16). (२) C झुतवर्णाः, D झुताः ॥ (३) C D read
डकारनकारञकारास्य प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ (४) B om. (५) C D *मो भवति ॥ (६) C D
प्रकृतिर्भवति (see App.). (७) D वंभणा ॥ (८) So A; B मञ्जरो (see H. C. ii, 182);
C D read मञ्जारो (see H. C. i, 26) and add वञ्जरो (see H. C. ii, 182); D
further adds आगम ॥ (९) A om., B विचुओ; D has विन्दुओ with प्रकृति after it;
C reads विन्दुओ which is explained in the marginal gloss as विन्दुः । प्रकृतिः ॥
(१०) A चुनी, B चुनो, C चुओ, D चुणो ॥ (११) So A; B काजणं (कातूणं? see ii,
5), C D काजणं (see H. C. i, 27). (१२) A काहं, B काहं (कातुं?, see Lassen,
p. 365. H. C. iv, 214). (१३) C D एहिं; D gives it as an example of लोप;
C explains it in the marginal gloss as नही; originally the gloss had नहि,
but it has been corrected to नही ॥ (१४) A om., B C D सकृतं ॥ (१५) C D om.,
but see App. (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपात्यते, C D
इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥ (१९) B गावि, C D गाई ॥ (२०) A गावीज, B गाविओ, D गावीओ;
C D add गावीओ । गावी । (२१) A B om. (२२) A D गावीए, B गाविए ॥ (२३) A
गावीहि, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीणं ॥ (२५) D गावीसुं; C D add गावीसु ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एत्रार्थं ^(१) एतच्चैयचियाः ^(२) ॥ १७ ॥

(१) एव शब्दार्थे एद् (२) चैय चिय एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ गत्या एव
(४) गति एद् । (५) मति एद् । *तं चैय ^(६) । †सच्चिय ^(७) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अयस्योर अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि असि च ^(८) एतयोर अय लोपो भवति ^(९) ॥ ^(१०) स्युरो पि ।
(११) कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ ^(१२) नु न्ना चा दु नु न्नु ^(१३) ओ ^(१४) प्पि ^(१५) पूर्वकालार्थे ^(१६) ॥ १९ ॥

एते ^(१७) पूर्वकालार्थे ^(१८) भवन्ति ॥ वंदितु ^(१९) । †वदिता ^(२०) । ‡मुच्चा ^(२१) ।
॥ कहु । †भोत्तु ^(२२) । †भोत्तू ^(२३) । †वदिओ ^(२४) । ^(२५) एवं कप्पि ** ।
C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ मत्वर्थे ^(२६) आल्लदमौ ^(२७) ॥ २० ॥

* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वंदिला ॥ § B शुल्वा । C भुक्ता (see note ११
॥ B C कला ॥ † C भुक्ता ^(२८) . ** B एव कला ॥

(१) A B नद् ॥ (२) A ०वेप विय, B ०चियेम् ॥ (३) B एवं ॥ (४) A B C D गद् ॥
(५) A C सद् एद्, B सद् एद्, D om. whole example, C prefixes Skr. सत्या एव ॥
(६) A तमेव, D त चैय; C pref. Skr. तं एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B; A ०धिय (चिय? see p. 20, note १३), C ०चिय, D ०चेय; C D pref. Skr. स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि; C D pref. Skr. transl. श्रुतः अपि । कतम् अपि । लम् असि अच ॥ (११) A कथं पि, B कथं प्पि, C D कथं वि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥ (१३) C D add तुच्चा ॥ (१४) D उ; C D add वि ॥ (१५) C D om., but add प्पिषु वेप्पिषु ॥ (१६) So A; B C D -om. (१७) B D om. (१८) B C पूर्वकालार्थे; C adds ला इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (१९) A वंदितु, B वदितु; C D add सव्ये वि जिणिदचंदे । वंदिला सर्वान् अपि जिनेद्रचंद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वंदीत्ता ॥ (२१) A मुच्चा, C D भुक्ता ॥ (२२) D भोत्तु ॥ (२३) C भोत्तू, D भोत्तू or भोत्तू ?; C D add काचच्चा, see App. (२४) A वंदिवं, D वंदिच; C D add वंदेवि ॥ (२५) A एच क०, B एषं क०; C D om. this example. (२६) A आल्ल D कल ॥ (२७) A दल्ल, B दल्लए ॥ (२८) MS. भोक्ता.

मलर्थे^(१) एतौ प्रत्ययौ^(२) भवतः^(३) ॥ ^(४)जडालो^(५) जडिल्लो^(६) ।
फडालो^(७) फडिल्लो^(८) । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ता-ताव^(९) तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् कन्दस्य^(१०) ता तावौ^(११) भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विच्छिन्नं^(१२) गयणं ताव च्विय^(१३) जलहिणो^(१४) पि^(१५) गंभीरा ।

ता^(१६) † गुरुआ^(१७) सुरसेला^(१८) धारेहि^(१९) न^(२०) जाव लिज्जंते^(२१) ॥ १ ॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिव इव विव विय^(२२) च्च^(२३) वज्झा^(२४) वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे^(२५) वतः^(२६) शब्दस्य एते आदेशा अवन्ति ॥ † चंदणं^(२७)
पिव । चमरमिव । एकमलं विव तुज्झ^(२८) मुहं । गिन्हो^(२९) विय ।
सायरच्च^(३०) ।

* C तावत् विल्लीणं गगनं तावत् एव जलधयः च गंभीराः । यावत् गुरुः सुरशैलः
धाराभिः न यावत् गच्छन्ते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरुः । एदीद्रं (ii, 10 गुरुओ) । खरो०
(ii, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चंदणं । चनुसारो वज्झलं (ii, 15). § C तव
मुखं कमलवत् (२१) ॥

(१) B om., C D add आल इल्ल ॥ (२) A om. (३) A स्यः ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr.
translations जटामान् । फटावान् ॥ (५) A जडालो ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places ६, ५.
(७) A फडालो; B orig. फडालो, but corrected to फलालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो.
placing ८, ७. (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add
यावच्चब्दस्य तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वच्छिन्न, C D विच्छिन्नं ॥ (१३) A
च्चिय, C D च्विय ॥ (१४) B जपहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा; A
om. this line. (१७) D गुरुआ ॥ (१८) B सुरसेला ॥ (१९) B धीरेहिं, c. m. (२०) C D
ण ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्जन्ति, C D जाव लिज्जन्ति ॥ (२२) B वियं ॥ (२३) D च्च (see H.
C. ii, 150). (२४) B वज्झा (sic). (२५) A om., C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे; B adds
पिव इव च्विव वियं च्च व ज्झा ॥ (२६) A वच् ब०, C वत्तु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B ब०; C D
prefix the Skr. translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS. चमरं वत्) । कमलवत् ।
घोषवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषस्य वत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्झ, B तुज्ज ॥ (२९) C गिन्ह,
D गिन्हं ॥ (३०) D सायरच्च, A अच्चापरच्च, B घोराघो ॥ (३१) MS. कमल विव ॥

सेसस्स व^(१) *एस^(२) फणो तुह^(३) भाति^(४) जसे जहा संखो^(५) ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ओल्लम्^(६) अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अवअपयोः स्थाने ओ^(७) भवति ॥ अवहसितं^(८) ओहसितं^(९) ।

अपसरितं^(१०) ओसरितं^(११) । अपवरकः^(१२) ओवरओ^(१३) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ खलोः^(१४) खुः ॥ २४ ॥

†खलुशब्दस्य खुर आदेशो भवति ॥ CD । एवं खु^(१५) जंतपीलणं ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे^(१६) ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे^(१७) आन प्रत्ययस्^(१८) तस्यार्थे तकरो भवति ॥

भिद्यमानं^(१९) भिज्जंतं । कथ्यमानं कथिज्जंतं^(२०) । साध्यमानं^(२१)

साहिज्जंतं^(२२) । A ॥

॥ 26 ॥ ^(२३)मे सर्वासु युष्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

^(२४)युष्मच् छब्दस्य सर्वासु^(२५) विभक्तिषु^(२६) मे^(२७) भवति ॥ CD । मे

निसामेय^(२८) यूयं निशम्यत^(२९) । CD । मे भणामि युष्मान् भणामि ।

मे कतं^(३०) लया कृतं । CD ॥

* C एष (फणः) तव भाति घमः अंलवत्^(३१) ॥ † C खलु इति खल्यं निश्चयार्थं ॥
‡ C चंचपीडनं ॥

(१) A च ॥ (२) C सेस ॥ (३) A तुह ॥ (४) A B C D भाद ॥ (५) D संख; CD place संखो जहा c. m. (६) A B D उल्लम् ॥ (७) B ओ ॥ (८) B C अवहसितं ॥ (९) A B ओहसितं, C ओहासितं, D उहसितं, B adds अपहसितं ओहसितं ॥ (१०) B om. (११) A B C ओसरितं, D उसरितं ॥ (१२) A अववरकः, B अपवरकः ॥ (१३) B ओच-
रओ, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्जं । पीलणं ॥ (१६) A ०माने
र्थे ॥ (१७) C D om. काल; B ०मानस्य कालार्थं ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थं, om. ख ॥
(१९) A भिद्यमाणं, B भिद्यमानं, C मेयं ॥ (२०) A कथिं, B C D कथिं ॥ (२१) B
om. (२२) B सोहिं ॥ (२३) C D place this sūtra after i, 25 (i. e. after i, 25^b of
their own reckoning; see App. C D). (२४) B युष्मदः शं ॥ (२५) B C D add
अपि ॥ (२६) A adds परतो ॥ (२७) B मे ॥ (२८) C D णिं ॥ (२९) So D; A B C
अणुन ॥ (३०) A B कृतं, C D कथं ॥ (३१) MS. सं ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१) अस्मादो ऽपि (१) ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मच् कृद्स्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु भे भवति^(१) ॥ CD । C ।
नेहेन^(४) भणामो भे तुभे^(५) वयं युष्मान् स्नेहेन^(६) भणामः । C । इत्य्
अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27^a—27¹ ॥ CD ॥ २७^a—२७¹ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय^(७) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे क्षणः^(८) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे^(९) क्षणः^(१०) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११) गामक्षणं । नयरक्षणं^(१२) ॥

॥ 29^a ॥ CD ॥ २९^a ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (११) श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणो^(१४) (१५) खरविधानं^(१६) द्वितीयं
समाप्तं^(१७) ॥ २ ॥

(१) C D place this sūtra after i, 31 (*i. e.* after i, 31^a of their own reckoning, see App. CD). (२) CD add भे सर्वासु ॥ (३) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्टं ॥ (४) CD एहेन ॥ (५) B भ नभे ॥ (६) B om. (७) A इव ॥ (८) A B क्षण ॥ (९) A भावार्थे ॥ (१०) A क्षण, B तन ॥ (११) CD pref. the Skr. translations ग्रामस्य भावः । नगरस्य भावः ॥ (१२) B C D एयं, C D add तीर्थंकरस्य भावः तित्थयरक्षणं ॥ (१३) A om. from औ to लक्षणे ॥ (१४) B लक्षण ॥ (१५) B om. खर ॥ (१६) A धानमाह ॥ (१७) A om.

॥ III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ १ ॥ हाद्^(१) यवौ^(२) लोप्यौ^(३) ॥ १ ॥

(^४) हात् हकारात्(^५) यकारवकारौ परत्र(^६) अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥
मुह्यते मुज्झते(^७) । दह्यते(^८) दज्झते(^९) । (^{१०}) विकलः विभलो(^{११}) ।
जिह्वा(^{१२}) जिह्वा(^{१३}) ॥

॥ २ ॥ (^{१४}) अवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं(^{१५}) ॥ २ ॥

अवलेभ्यः(^{१६}) परं(^{१७}) व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ (^{१८}) स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं(^{१९})
सगं । ओतयं सेतव्यं(^{२०}) । कायं कव्यं(^{२१}) । शल्यं(^{२२}) सलं । विल्वं(^{२३})
विलं । शश्वं(^{२४}) ससं । अतं सुतं(^{२५}) । श्लेष्मा सिन्ध्वा(^{२६}) ॥

॥ ३ ॥ वर्गं(^{२७}) ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गं(^{२८}) च परे तल् लोप्यं(^{२९}) भवति(^{३०}) ॥ शक्तः(^{३१}) । सक्तो(^{३२}) ॥ रक्तं
रक्तं(^{३३}) । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वक्षि(^{३४}) वेक्षि । (^{३५}) षट् षट्(^{३६}) ।

(१) A हा ॥ (२) A यौ ॥ (३) D लोप्यौ ॥ (४) A om. comment हात् to भवतः ॥
(५) D om., C हाडकाराद् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om., C D मुज्झते, A
मुज्झते ॥ (८) A B om. (९) A om., B दह्यते, C दज्झते, D दह्यते ॥ (१०) A om.
this example. (११) B विकलो ॥ * (१२) A om. (१३) B जिह्वा ॥ (१४) C D स ॥
(१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो; B om. अव ॥ to भवति ॥ (१७) The examples
are rearranged; their order in A is २०, २१, २२, २३, om. all the others; B has
२०, २१, २२, २३, २४, २५, २६; C D have २०, २१, २२, २३, २४, om.
२५ (see iii, 9). (२०) A C सोत्तव्य, B सोत्तव्य (corrupt for सोत्तव्यं), D सोत्तव्यं ॥ (२१)
A काव्यं, D कव्यं ॥ (२२) C D सलं ॥ (२३) A शल्यं, B सुल्यं; C D om. this example.
(२४) C शश्वं ॥ (२५) B om. (२६) B वक्षि ॥ (२७) B लुप्यं ॥ (२८) B C D read
वर्गं परे यत् पूर्व व्यंजनं तल् लो० भ० ॥ (२९) A सक्तो, B शक्तो ॥ (३०) B शक्तो, D सक्तो ॥
(३१) B adds मुक्तं मुक्तं; C D add मुक्तं मुक्तं ॥ (३२) B व० ॥ (३३) B षट् ॥

षट्पदः कृष्णो^(१) । ^(२)खड्गं खगं । षण्मुखः^(३) कृष्णो^(४) । आत्मा^(५) अप्पा ।
उत्पलं उप्पलं । सङ्गावं सङ्गावं । *मन्मथः मन्मथो^(६) । प्राप्तं पत्तं । *प्रद्युम्नः
पञ्चुन्नो^(७) । †अर्कः अर्को । उल्का उक्का । भास्करः भक्करो । B C D ।
ब्रह्मा बन्हा^(८) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ ज्ञे^(९) वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं^(१०) ज्ञे^(९) परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृत्तः^(११) वक्को^(१२) । ^(१३)क्षमा
खमा । संवत्सरः संवक्करो । मत्सरः मक्करो । अप्सराः^(१४) अक्करा ।
ईप्सितं इक्कितं^(१५) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्ग्यं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं^(१६) । ^(१७)शक्रः
सक्को । ^(१८)क्षीवः कीवो । ^(१९)विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं^(२०) । B C ॥

॥ 6 ॥ ^(२१)ज्ञाच्च च पंचमो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः श्रपरश्च च वर्गपंचमो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं नाणं^(२२) ।
^(२३)यत्नं जत्तं^(२४) । लक्ष्मणः^(२५) लक्खणो । ^(२६)लक्ष्मी लक्खी । C D । B C D ।
^(२७)कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

* C कामः ॥ † C सूर्यः ॥

(१) B D कृष्ण; A om. this and the following examples, except Nos. २, ५ and ८. (२) B षट्पदो षट्पदो ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A कृष्णो, B कृष्णो; B C D place २, ४, २ ॥ (५) B आत्माः ॥ (६) B मन्मथो, C D मन्मथो ॥ (७) C D पञ्चुणो, and add वर्गः वयो ॥ (८) A ब्रह्मा बन्हा, B C D बन्हा ॥ (९) A C D ज्ञे, B ज्ञे ॥ (१०) B C D add व्यंजनं ॥ (११) A वृत्तो ॥ (१२) B वक्को ॥ (१३) A om. the remainder. (१४) B अप्सराः, D अप्सरा ॥ (१५) C इक्कितं, B D इक्कितं ॥ (१६) A सुक्खं, B D सुक्खं ॥ (१७) B क्षीवो कीवो ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सितं (acc. sing. of विधुः सितः). (१९) B C D सितं ॥ (२०) A C D सा, B स ण ॥ (२१) A B C D ज्ञाणं (see iii, 19). (२२) A om. this example. (२३) B यत्तं ॥ (२४) A णो, B लक्ष्मणः ॥ (२५) B om. this example. (२६) A कृष्णं कण्हं, B प्रणं पण्हं, C D प्रणं पण्हं ॥

॥ ७ ॥ दो वे^(१) ॥ ७ ॥

दकारो (१)वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ द्वारं वारं । वेति किं । द्वारं^(२) ॥

॥ ८ ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा^(३) लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्कृष्टं उक्कोमं^(४) ।
(१)स्यष्टं फुटं^(५) ॥ (८)पुटं । (९)उक्किटं ॥

॥ ९ ॥ (१०)रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

(११)सर्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्वस्यश्च^(१२) च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तक्तं । अर्कः^(१३) अक्को । मुखः मुक्खो^(१४) । (१५)न्ययोधः निगोहो^(१६) । स्वर्गं सग्नं । शीघ्रः सिग्घो^(१७) । अर्घः अग्घो^(१८) । अर्चनं^(१९) अचणं । वज्रं वज्जं^(२०) । दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उद्गः उट्टो^(२१) । सुवर्णं सुवणं । शत्रुः सत्तू^(२२) । कर्त्तव्यं का-
तव्यं^(२३) । कर्दमं कद्दमं । जड्वं^(२४) उड्वं^(२५) । प्रवरः^(२६) पवरो^(२७) । C D । सर्पः सप्पो । विभ्रमः विभ्रमो । दर्भः दब्भो । आघं अवं^(२८) । धर्मः धम्मो । सूर्यः सुज्जो । व्रतं वतं^(२९) । पर्वतः पव्वतो^(३०) । श्रुतं सुतं^(३१) । द्रव्यः दस्सो । C D ॥

(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add द्वारं दुवारं ॥ (४) B C om. (५) C D उत्कृष्टं (see iii, 29 and App. C D in iii, 8), B उक्कोमं ॥ (६) B स्यष्टं; C D om. the remainder. (७) B फुटं (? फुटं) (८) A om., B places ट, ७. (९) A om.; B उक्किटं, repeating उत्कृष्टं before it. (१०) B om. the sutra; A रेफश्च, C D रेफ ॥ (११) B om. commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्वस्य चधश्च ॥ (१३) A om. this example; D places it before तक्त ॥ (१४) A मुखो, B मुक्खो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder. (१६) C D निगो ॥ (१७) B शीघो ॥ (१८) D adds अर्घः अग्घो ॥ (१९) B om., up to सुवणं incl. (२०) D repeats वज्जं ॥ (२१) C उट्टो, and C D add दंष्ट्रा दाट्ठा ॥ (२२) B शत्रुः ॥ (२३) B C D कायव्यं, and place this example before the preceding one. (२४) B जोड्वं, C D उड्वं; but C has a marginal correction in pencil उड्वं ॥ (२५) B जोड्वं, C उड्वं, D उड्वं ॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवरः ॥ (२७) B प्रवरो, D पचरो ॥ (२८) B अवं, C चवं, D चंमं, (see H. C. ii, 56). (२९) B वतं, C D वयं ॥ (३०) B C D पव्वया ॥ (३१) So B; C D सुतं ॥

॥ १० ॥ (१) असंयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवन्ति ॥ गृहं घरं । स्तम्भः^(१)
खंभो ॥

॥ ११ ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोः द्वितीयचतुर्थो^(१) ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ^(१) आदेशौ^(१)
भवतः ॥ भास्करः भक्स्वरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो^(४) । (५) दुष्टं दुट्^(६) । (५) स्तम्भः
थंभो^(७) । पुरुषं^(८) फरुसं^(९) । विचयते^(१०) विज्जते^(११) । (५) दंष्ट्रा दाढा^(१२) ।
मथुरा मधुरा^(१३) । नाथः नाधो^(१४) ॥

॥ ११ ॥ C D ॥ ११ ॥

॥ १२ ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

(१५) प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थकरः^(१६)
तित्थगरो^(१७) । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं^(१८) । प्रति-
षिद्धं पडिसिद्धं^(१९) । C D । (२०) प्रच्छे वुच्छे ॥

॥ १३ ॥ हेतुः^(२१) खलपभावात् ॥ १३ ॥

(२२) खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां^(२३) स्थाने हकारो भवति^(२४) ॥

(१) C D om. this sūtra and its commentary. (२) A स्तम्भः, B स्तम्भो ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A निवृत्त, B निवृत्त, C निवृत्तो, D निवृत्तः ॥ (५) A om. this example. (६) C D ओट्टा ॥ (७) D adds खंभो (see iii, 10, 19). (८) A B C पुरुषं, D पुरुषः ॥ (९) A फुरुसं, B पुरुसं, C पुरिसं, D परिसो; B C D add रुसं रुचं (see iii, 13). (१०) A विद्वये, B विजयते, C D विजयते ॥ (११) A B विज्जए, C D विज्जए; cf. H. C. II, 28; and as to ज्ज for ज्ज, see p. 20 footnote 28; p. 10, n. 7; p. 27, n. 13; p. 30, n. 7. (१२) B दंष्ट्रा, C दाढा, D दढा ॥ (१३) A B C D मधुरा ॥ (१४) A नाधो, B नाधो; C D read आदिनाहः आदिनाहो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, सष्टं । पिशाची पिसाजी; om. all the rest. (१६) B तीर्थकरः ॥ (१७) B तित्थगरो, D तित्थगरो ॥ (१८) B कदं ॥ (१९) B प्रतिषिद्धं ॥ (२०) Conjectural; B वच्छे, C D om. this example. (२१) C D om. ख (see note ६ in iii, 11.). (२२) C D om. खकार ॥ (२३) B भकार इत्येतेषां ॥ (२४) A om. comm., up to भवति ॥

(१) मुखं मुहं । (२) मेघः मेहो । (३) मधवः महवो । वृषभः (४) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ खयः (५) खयः (६) ॥ १४ ॥

(६) सकारस्य स्थाने खयः (७) भवन्ति ॥ भिन्ना भिक्त्वा । षण्मुखः
ह्ममुहो (८) । पाषाणः पाहाणो । दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ ययः ययः ॥ १५ ॥

(९) यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुवणं । सूर्यः सुजो ।
यात्रा जत्ता ॥

॥ 16 ॥ CD ॥ १६ ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः (१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निचं (११) ।
(१२) पथं पच्छं (१२) । विद्या विज्जा । (१३) बंध्या वंज्या (१३) । नृत्यं नट्टं (१४) ।
स्थितः ठितो (१५) । (१६) दंडः डंडो (१७) । दग्धः (१८) दड्डो (१९) । CD । धान्यं
धषं (२०) । CD ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यय (२१) तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबन्धिनो यकारस्य (२२) तकारो भवति (२२) ॥ तुम्हेहि (२३) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ CD ॥ १७ ॥

(१) CD om. this example (see p. 26, note ९ in iii, 11). (२) A om. this example. (३) A B वृषभो ॥ (४) B स खयः ॥ (५) A ०च्छं ॥ (६) A has only खयं । पाषाणो पाहाणो । दश दह, om. the rest. (७) B खयः ॥ (८) B D ह्ममुहो ॥ (९) A only खयं, om. the whole commentary. (१०) A only खयं, om. up to भवतः ॥ (११) CD निचं ॥ (१२) B पच्छं with Skr. पंथा ॥ (१३) B D वंज्या; C originally वंज्या, with marginal correction ०ज्या ॥ (१४) CD नट्टं ॥ (१५) A ठिचः, B CD ठिचो ॥ (१६) A om. the remainder. (१७) B दंडो, D डडो । (१८) B C दग्धो ॥ (१९) B ०ड्डो, C ०ड्डो, D ०ड्डो ॥ (२०) B धान्यं, D धाषं ॥ (२१) B भ० ॥ (२२) A om. up to भवति ॥ (२३) A तुम्हेहि, B तुम्हेहि; C D add कथं । युष्माभिः कृतं ॥

॥ 18 ॥ रघुपाशो^(१) षः ॥ १८ ॥

(१) रेफशकारषकाराणां^(२) स्थाने (४) सकारो भवति ॥ शिर^(५) सीसं ।
(६) शशी मसी^(७) । आमिषं आमिसं^(८) ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजयानां रनखाः^(९) ॥ १९ ॥

(१) हजयानां स्थाने रनखा^(८) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं^(९) ॥ गृहं घरं ।
(१०) ज्ञानं नानं^(१०) । C D । (११) खंभः^(११) खंभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरहाणां घणझाः^(१२) ॥ २० ॥

(१) गरहाणां स्थाने घणझा^(१४) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं ॥ (१०) गृहं घरं ।
करवीरः^(१५) कणवीरो^(१५) । C D । (११) वाह्यः वज्झो^(११) । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडहानां^(१७) वक्षभाः^(१८) ॥ २१ ॥

(१९) मडहानां स्थाने^(१९) यथाक्रमं वलभा भवन्ति^(२१) ॥ मन्मथः^(२२)
वक्षथो^(२२) । षोडश^(२३) सोलस^(२५) । (१०) जिह्वा जिह्वा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ (१९) पवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

(१०) यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो^(१८) भवति^(१९) ॥ पर्य्यकः पक्षको^(१०) ।

(१) B ०नां ॥ (२) A only रषां ॥ (३) B ०सकारप० ॥ (४) A सस् स्थान् ॥ (५) B शिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om. this example. (८) C D रण० ॥ (९) B C D om. this clause. (१०) B ज्ञानं, C D णां ॥ (११) D खंभः (Prākṛit खंभो, see iii, 11). (१२) A घनसा, B ०सा, D घण० ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्यं भवन्ति स्यादं ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणझा ॥ (१५) A ०वीरं ॥ (१६) B वज्झो ॥ (१७) A B C D ०णां ; but C with marginal correction ०नां ॥ (१८) B व० ॥ (१९) D ०हानां ; but B C ०हानां ॥ (२०) B D om. (२१) A only स्यादं, om. up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B ०यो ॥ (२३) A C वक्षथो, B मक्षथो, D वंसथो ॥ (२४) B D ०शः, A B डु for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलसः ॥ (२६) So A ; B om. sūtra ; C D read पवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A ; B पवयोर् ; but C D पवयोर्, see below note २८. (२८) A व्यत्ययं ॥ (२९) A स्यात् ; in C D, here follows the example पापं पावं (see iii, 12 in App. C D), after which comes a new sūtra रलयोर् व्यत्यासः, to which are assigned पर्य्यकः etc. as examples (see App. C D). (३०) A B ०काः ; C D add पर्य्यकं पक्षको ॥

*^(१)वेदूयः^(१) वेदुलियो^(२) । त्रयोदश तेरह । ^(१)वृत्तः रुक्लो^(४) । C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ग्रहयोर^(५) लोपे नणमानाम् अधो^(६) होऽपदादौ^(७) स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

नणमानां संबंधिनौ यौ ग्रहौ^(८) तयोर लोपे हकारागमो भवति ।
^(९)अधो^(१०)ऽपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्धो^(११) । दृष्ट्वा तण्हा^(१२) ।
 यस्मात् जन्हा^(१३) । B C D । C D । ^(१४)गृह्णाति गिण्हति^(१५) । वज्जिः
 वन्ही^(१६) । जिह्वाः जिन्धो^(१७) । B । ^(१८)अपदादाव् इति किं । अश्रानं^(१९)
 मसानं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाक्षरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य^(२०) द्वित्वं भवति^(२१) ॥ ^(२२)दुर्गा दुग्गा ।
 B C D । व्याघ्रः वग्घो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ ^(२३)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

^(२४)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्वित्वं भवति ॥ न ज्ञायते न^(२५) नञ्जते^(२६) ।
^(२७)वाध्यते वाहिज्जते^(२७) ॥

(१) A om. this example. (२) C D वेदूयः ॥ (३) B वेदुलिषो, C वेरलिषो, D वेरलिष ॥ (४) D रुक्लो ॥ (५) So B; A C D सै० ॥ (६) A om. हो ॥ (७) Conjectural; the MSS reading is corrupt; B throws 'sūtra and commentary into one and reads ग्र० लो० नण० अधो पदावस्थानां हो भवति; A has ऽपादावस्थानानां; C originally पदावस्थानानां, corrected in margin to ऽपदादावस्थानानां; D पदादावस्थानानां ॥ (८) A C D सकारहकारौ ॥ (९) B om. this clause. (१०) Conjectural; A D read ऽपदादावस्थानानां, C अपदावस्थानानां ॥ (११) C D पन्धो ॥ (१२) B तिण्हा; A adds लघ्नः कन्धो (see App. B C D). (१३) A D जन्हा ॥ (१४) A om. the remainder, up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गृह्णति, C D गिण्हति ॥ (१६) C D वण्ही; B places this example after निह्विया (see App. B). (१७) C D place the examples thus: ११, १६, १५, १२, १३, १७. (१८) So C; A अपादावति, B अपादाति०, D अपदादति ॥ (१९) B C D अश्रानं ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य; B adds च after it. (२१) A स्यात् ॥ (२२) C D दुर्गः दुग्गा ॥ (२३) A om. the sūtra. (२४) B क्वचिद् अलोपे ? ॥ (२५) C D ए ॥ (२६) A B नञ्ज, C D नञ्जए; C D add तैल तैलं ॥ (२७) B नञ्ज, C D नञ्जए ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितियचतुर्थयोः^(१) प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्विले वर्त्तमानयोर द्वितियचतुर्थयोः स्थाने^(२) प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः ॥ सौख्यं सुखं^(३) । ^(४)अर्घः अग्घो । पथं पच्छं^(५) । साध्यः^(६) सज्ज्ञो^(७) । षष्ठः षट्ठो^(८) । दृढः वुड्ढो^(९) । पार्थः पत्थो^(१०) । वर्धमानः वड्ढमानो^(११) । पुष्यं पुष्पं । जिह्वा जिम्मा^(१२) ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां^(१३) मुक्तामुक्तविशेषाणां द्विले स एव भवति ॥ ^(१४)अर्कः अक्को । सत्यं सच्चं^(१५) । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ^(१६) ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ^(१७) द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोदो^(१८) । ^(१९)बुद्रः खुदो^(२०) । ^(२१)पदादाव् इति किं । ^(२२)भद्रः भदो^(२३) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ कच्चिद् अन्यत्रापि ॥ २९ ॥

कच्चित् पदमध्येऽवसाने^(२४) च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः^(२५) कासवो । ^(२६)वैश्रवणः वेसवणो^(२७) । स्पष्टं^(२८) फुटं^(२९) । ^(३०)कर्त्तव्यं

(१) A ०चतुर्थयोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B; B संयोगान्; C D संयोगसौ ॥ (३) A सौख्यं (for सोख्यं? but see iii, 5). (४) A om. the remainder. (५) B पथं; so also C now; but originally C seems to have had पच्छं ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्जा, B सम्भो ॥ (८) B षट्ठो, D सट्ठो ॥ (९) B ०ड्ढो, C ०ड्ढो, D ०ड्ढो ॥ (१०) D पच्छो ॥ (११) B वड्ढमाणो, C वड्ढमाणो, D वड्ढमाणो (for वड्ढो); but comp. App. A, ii, 25 (as to ०नो for ०णो), and App. C D, iii, 16. (१२) B जिह्वा ॥ (१३) So A; B originally मुक्ताविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into उक्ताविशेषाणां; the latter is also the reading of C D (see App. B C D). (१४) B अर्को अक्को ॥ (१५) B सच्चं ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुदः कुदो ॥ (१८) A om. this example. (१९) B खुदो, D खुदो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्रं ॥ (२२) A भदा, B भदो ॥ (२३) So C; A वशाने, B D अवशाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यपः ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पष्टं ॥ (२७) A फटं, D पटं ॥

कातव्यं^(१) । शीर्षं^(२) सीसो^(३) । दीर्घः दीहो । ^(४)उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं^(५) ॥

॥ ३० ॥ संबोधनस्येष्टस्वरागमो अग्रे ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर^(६) व्यंजनयोर मध्ये इष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अगणी^(७) ।
विश्लेषः विसलेसो^(८) । ^(९)स्रजः पलक्वो । ^(१०)रत्नं रतणं^(१०) । वर्षं वरिसं^(११) ।
C D । सूर्यः सूरियो^(१२) । ^(१३)सर्षपः सरिसपो^(१३) । ^(१४)वैदूर्यः^(१४)
वेदुलियो^(१५) । ^(१६)क्ष्मा खिमा^(१६) । ^(१७)स्रज्जं सुज्जमं^(१७) । ^(१८)पद्मं
पदुमं^(१८) । C D ॥

॥ ३१ ॥ यवयोर^(१९) इदुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः^(१९) स्थाने ^(२०)इकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह^(२१) ।
C D । भवति हेति^(२२) ॥

॥ ३२ ॥ ^(२३)संख्यायास् ^(२४)तिशयोर लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

^(२५)संख्यायाः ^(२६)संबंधितिशयोर लोपो भवति^(२६) ॥ ^(२७)विंशतिः बीसा ।

पंचाशत् पन्ना^(२८) ॥

॥ ३३ ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

(१) B C D कायव्यं; C adds काहव्यं ॥ (२) A शीर्षो, B शीर्ष, C D शीर्षः ॥
(३) A सीसौ, B सीसं ॥ (४) A om. this example. (५) B उक्कोसं, C D उक्कोसं
(see iii. 8). (६) B repeats द्वयोर after व्यं० ॥ (७) B अग्निः ॥ (८) A विश्लेषः ॥
(९) A om. this example; B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रत्नं ॥
(११) A वरिसं ॥ (१२) A D सूरिड, B C सूरियो ॥ (१३) B om. this example;
probably by oversight; as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs
in A C D together. (१४) A B C D सरिसवो; C D add वज्रं वहरं ॥ (१५) C D
वैदूर्यः ॥ (१६) A वैदुलिड, B वेदुलिथो, C वेदलिथो, D वेदलिड; C D add कृष्णं
कसिणं ॥ (१७) So A; C D क्षमा ॥ (१८) So C D; B सुज्जमं ॥ (१९) B पद्मं, C D
पडमं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D इदुतौ ॥
(२३) A तेरह; B om. by mistake, as it gives only त्रयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥
(२४) A B C होइ; D होयाइ (sic); A B place the examples २४, २५, but C D २४,
२५ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रि० ॥ (२७) D om. (२८) C संबंधिनोः ति० ॥
(२९) A स्थान् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D पणा ॥

(१)संख्यासंबन्धिनस् तकारस्य^(१) च^(२) लोपो^(३) भवति ॥ पञ्चपञ्चाशत्^(४)
(१)पणपणस ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (७)कतृतीययोः खरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गतृतीयस्य च खरे^(८) परे लोपो भवति ॥ (९)कोकिलः^(१०)
कोइलो^(११) । (१२)भौगिकः भोइओ । (१३)राजौ राई । (९)प्रतिकूलः
पदकूलो^(१२) । नदी नई^(१३) । B | C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्नं अवर्ण^(१४) ॥ ३५ ॥

(१६)ककारवर्गतृतीययोर् अवर्ण परे यत्नं भवति ॥ C D । काकाः
काया । नागाः नाया^(१७) । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्णावस्थानं^(१८) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या^(१९) ॥ अर्कः अक्को ।
(२०)सूर्यः सूरियो^(१९) । भिन्ना भिक्का । लक्ष्मी लक्की^(२१) । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो ऽपभ्रंशे^(२२) ऽधो^(२३) रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

(१) A om. (२) B C D तस्य ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A सोपः, om. भवति ॥
(५) B पञ्चाशत्, and prefixes विंशति नौसा, repeating the latter by mistake from
the previous sūtra. (६) A पणपणस, B D पणपणा, C पणवणा ॥ (७) C D have an
altogether different sūtra and commentary, see App. C D. (८) Inserted; A B
om. (९) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (१०) A कोकिला ॥
(११) A कोइला ॥ (१२) A om. this example. (१३) B वनराजौ वणरार्द ॥ (१४) A
adds नूपुरं नेडुरं । कूपः कुओ (MS. कूप कुओ); B adds many more examples, see
App. B. (१५) C अवर्णः, D वर्णः; A adds ककारवर्गतृतीययोः ॥ (१६) So B; A corrupt
अवर्णपरयोरेफयोऽपरयोर्न स्यात् (अवर्ण परे एतयोर् यत्नं स्यात्?); but C D read
differently, see App. C D. (१७) C D नाया ॥ (१८) A B •स्थानां ॥ (१९) So A;
B C D •यं ॥ (२०) A om. the remainder. (२१) B C D सूरियो. (२२) Here C D
terminate this chapter, see App. C D. (२३) D •धंसे ॥ (२४) B om. ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

(१)अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरत्तु^(२) । ग्रामो^(३) । (४)वाघ्रो घसि^(५) जादि ॥

॥ ३४ ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर^(६) लसौ^(७) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । एकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले^(८) अले (९)दुटलकवसा पनमत^(१०) (११)पनयिद्वितासा ॥

॥ ३५ ॥ मागधिकायां रसयोर^(१२) लसौ^(१३) ॥ ३९ ॥

मागधिकायां रेफसकारयोर^(१४) लसौ^(१५) अवतः ॥ (१६)चंदकलनिकलं हवति । शेषे^(१६) । हंशे^(१६) । पयुत्ते^(१७) ॥ C D ॥

॥ ३९^a ॥ C D ३९^a ॥

॥ (१८)३९ ॥ २९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सूत्राण्य् अत्र ९९ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति (१९)श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे (२०)व्यंजनविधानं (२१)तृतीयं (२२)समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ (२३)इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं^(२४) ॥

* Ed. वरत्तुं । ग्रामः । व्याघ्रः घसिला याति ॥ A and C om. the interpunctuation between व० and ग्र०, B has it ; A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and घसि० ; D om. it throughout. † Ed. चरे चरे दुटराक्षसाः प्रणमत प्रणयिद्वितासाः ॥

(१) B om. (२) B वरत्तु, D वरत्तु ॥ (३) A गाड, B घाड, C D ग्रामो ॥ (४) A om. this example, B व्याघ्रः, D व्याघ्रो ; C D prefix the Skr. व्याघ्रः ॥ (५) C D घसि ॥ (६) B om. (७) B लोसौ ॥ (८) D अले ॥ (९) A दुटलकवसा, B दुटलकं । लसा, C दुटलकवसा, D दुटलकवसा ॥ (१०) So C ; A पनमत, B पननमत, D पननते ॥ (११) A इद्वितासा om. पन, B पुनइद्वितासा, C पनइ । टितासा, D पनइ टितासा ; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुण्डिकायाः (sic), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लसौ ॥ (१३) B लसौ ॥ (१४) A वन्दकलति कलवति ; B वन्द नी कलति ॥ कलसवति ; B in the margin explains कलति by the Skr. करोति ; C D चं हवदि ॥ (१५) A शेषे, B लोसे ; C D prefix the Skr. शेषः ॥ (१६) A B हंसे, D om. ; C D prefix the Skr. हंसः ॥ (१७) A पयुत्तु, B पयुत्ते, C D om. (१८) B C D om. this remark. (१९) A कते, B om. कत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter ; their third chapter terminates with sūtra ३६ ; see App. C D. (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तृयेः ॥ (२२) A om. (२३) A B D om. this remark. (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS. ; A माघ कृष्ण १ ; B माघ कृष्ण ८ अष्टमौ संवत् १९२१ ; D संवत् १९२१ का ; C gives no date.

EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Sūtras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS. A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS., some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices; thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS. C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters; thus, on p. 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sūtra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS. A, given in Appendix A on p. 34; again, on p. 5, the letters C D in Sūtra I, 6^a refer to an additional Sūtra in the MSS. C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p. 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

APPENDIX A.

TO SŪTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

साहि० ॥ साहिज्जमानं^(१) साहियंतं^(२) ॥

(१) MS. साहिनानं ॥ (२) MS. साहियंतं^(२); in A the two letters य and प are often indistinguishable.

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26.

निह्वितं निह्वियं^(१) । निह्विका निह्विया^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

नोह्यो ॥ ^(१)काकी काई^(४) । ^(२)शकुनः सउणो^(५) । ^(३)प्रतिकूलः पद-
 जलो^(६) । काकेन काएण^(७) । काकः कात्रो । भौगिकः भोइत्रो ।
 त्यागिनां^(८) चाईणं^(९) । प्रगुणः पउणो । ^(१०)अवगूढः अवजढो ।
 त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चात्रो । सुचिरं सुदरं । शुचिः सुई ।
^(११)प्रचुरेण पउरेण । पिशाचेन पिसाएण । पिशाचः पिसात्रो ।
 वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं^(१२) । ^(१३)वनराजी वणराई । ^(१४)प्रजुष्टं
 पउष्टं । ^(१५)गजेन गएण । गजः गत्रो^(१६) । ^(१७)पतिना पइणा ।
 गोमती गोमई । ^(१८)जतुना जउणा । ^(१९)वातलः वाजलो ।
 वातेन वाएण । वातः वात्रो^(२०) । मदिरः मइरो । ^(२१)नदी नई ।
 पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मत्रो । कूपिका कूइआ ।
 कपीनां कईणं । ^(२२)नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिजणं । कूपेन कूएण ।
 कूपः कूत्रो^(२३) कूवो^(२४) । कत्रिना कइणा । कांपुरुषं कावरिसं^(२५)
 काउरिसं^(२६) । रवेण रएण । देवः देत्रो^(२७) । मयि मइ^(२८) । प्रयुक्तं
 पउक्तं । मधुरः मजरो । विप्रयोगः विप्रओत्रो^(२९) ॥

(१) MS. निह्वियं ॥ (२) MS. निह्वियं ॥ (३) The MS. places this example after पउणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D. (see App. C D). (५) MS. शकुनः सउणो ॥ (६) MS. पदकूलो ॥ (७) MS. काकेण ॥ (८) MS. त्यागिनाः ॥ (९) MS. चाईणो ॥ (१०) MS. अवगूढः अवजढो ॥ (११) Conjectural; MS. सवलेन सउलेण ॥ (१२) MS. वनराजि ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS. प्रजुष्टं प्रउष्टं, and places it after गत्रो ॥ (१५) MS. गायनः गायणो ॥ (१६) MS. गज ॥ (१७) MS. prefixes the example सितं सिचं, which is repugnant to the following sūtra (iii, 35). (१८) MS. जतुना जउणा ॥ (१९) MS. वातलः वाजलो ॥ (२०) MS. वाज ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A. (२२) MS. कूवो कूवू ॥ (२३) MS. places २४, २५. (२४) MS. इज ॥ (२५) MS. नई ॥ (२६) MS. विप्रयोगः ॥

APPENDIX C.

SUTRA I, 11*. ON PAGE 6.

॥ ११* ॥ क्लीवे जस्यसोऽदं^(१) ॥ ११* ॥

क्लीवे वर्त्तमानान् नाम्नः परयोः जस्यसोः इं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

*कमलदं^(२) मल्लवि अलिउलदं करिगंडादं महंति ।†असुलहम् एत्य ए जाहं भलि ते एवि दूर^(३) गणंति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 17. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ C D ॥ भे भणामो वयं भणामः । भे भण मां भण । भे भण
अस्मान् भण ॥अणामः ॥ भे कयं मया कृतं । भे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । भे णिकिटो मत्
निःकष्टः । भे तं णिकिटो अस्मत् त्वं^(४) निःकष्टः । भे देसो मम देशः ।
भे देसो अस्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं
अस्मासु निहितं ॥

* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगंडानि कांक्षंति । असुलभम् अथ न येषां भस्ते ते
नापि दूरं गणयंति ॥ † C असुलहं । असुलभं दुर्लभं वा । कदा यच्चो भवति ॥ ‡ C भलि ।
हठाकारेण ॥

(१) See H. C. IV, 353. T. V. III, 4. 25. (२) The MS. has the mark of
interpunctuation (.) after each word of the first line ; thus कमलदं । म* ॥

(३) The MS. has विदू रगणंति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1^a. ON PAGE 13.

॥ १* ॥ संज्ञानवन् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ १* ॥

प्राकृते पदयोर यत् संधिकार्यं तत् संज्ञतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1^b. 1^c. ON PAGE 14.॥ १^b ॥ स्वरस्योद्धृते^(१) ॥ १* ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्त. स्वरौ यो^(२) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्धृत इहेच्यते ।
स्वरस्योद्धृते स्वरौ परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गअणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ १^c ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्त्रे ॥ १* ॥

द्वर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्त्रे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे^(३) अपि
अवकाशः । ए^(४) वैरिवर्गे वि अवचासो ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

कर्हिचित्^(५) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतवं कैअवं । सौदर्थ्यं
सौअरिअं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ डञ्जौ^(६) अपि स्ववर्गसंयुक्तौ^(७)
भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो^(८) । अजितं^(९) अज्जितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D ०त्तेः ॥ (२) D om. (३) D वैरिवर्गे ॥ (४) D ०वर्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D.
(६) D डञ्जौ and ०त्तौ ॥ (७) D डङ्कारो ॥ (८) D अजितं अजितं ॥

APPENDIX B C.

TO SUTRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24.

जिह्वं उद्धं । प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

TO SUTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

देशी० प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

* C adds the following declension of जस्य=यज्ञ, सत्ता=सात्र and णिच=नित्य ;
 जस्यो । जसा ॥ हे जस्यो । हे जसा ॥ जस्यं । जसा or जसे ॥ जसेण or जसेणं । जसेहि or जसेहि
 or जसेहिं ॥ जसस्स । जसाणं or जसाहं ॥ जसास्यो or जसास्यो or जसास्यो or जसास्यो or
 जसा । जसेहिंते ॥ जसस्स । जसाणं or जसाहं ॥ जसे or जससि । जसेसु or जसेसु ॥ एवं
 देवादयः ॥

सत्ता । सत्तास्यो or सत्तास्यो or सत्ता ॥ हे सत्ता । हे सत्तास्यो or हे सत्तास्यो or हे सत्ता ॥
 सत्तं । सत्तास्यो or सत्तास्यो or सत्ता ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहि or सत्ताहि or सत्ताहि ॥ सत्ताए । सत्तास्य
 or सत्तास्य ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहिंते ॥ सत्ताए । सत्तास्य or सत्ताहं ॥ सत्ताए । सत्तास्य or सत्तास्य ॥
 सत्तास्य । सत्तास्य ॥ सत्तास्य । सत्तास्य ॥ येषं यज्ञवत् ॥

*इक्षरिपउरे^(१) गामे इक्षपलिंदाण सुम्भए सद्दो ।

तह सज्जिज्जइ चिची सुहेण जह बोलेण तुंगी ॥ १ ॥

सत्तवीसं^(२) (१) जोयणयरपसरो जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।

(३) पडिहत्थविंबगहवदवयणे ॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराष्ट्रदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ अंध्रदेशे । वंटकसु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे ।
कूलु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGES 3, 4.

कुक्षानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चतुरो^(४) ।
तिष्ठन्ति^(५) चिद्धन्ति पश्य^(६) पेच्छ वा^(७) । यूयं तुम्हे^(८) । वयं अन्हे^(९) ॥

अभ्य ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः^(९) गामाहिता । गुरुभ्यः^(९) गुरुहिता^(१०) । धेणुहिता ।
णर्दहिता । दोहिता वेहिता^(११) । (१२) तौहिता ॥

चन्दसु ॥ ** दोसं दोसु । † वेसुं^(१३) वेसु । तीसुं तीसु ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.

वरिताहं ॥ णर्दणं णर्दहं । गुरुणं गुरुहं । बुद्धीणं^(१४) बुद्धीहं । मद्दणं^(१५) मद्दहं ।

* ॐ इक्षपलिंदाण व्याघ्राणां सद्दो शब्दः इक्षरिपउरे इक्षप्रचुरे गामे गामे सुम्भए श्रूयते ।
तह तथा चिची अग्निः सज्जिज्जइ सज्जते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रिः सुहेण सुखेन बोलेण व्यतिक्ता-
मति ॥ † ॐ तुंगी इति । श्वासा तुंगी तमा तमी इति नासनिष्ठानकोषाकरे ॥ ‡ ॐ सत्तवीसं
जोयणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतियोजनकरप्रसरः जाव यावत् अज्जवि अथापि ण न होइ भवति ।
पडिहत्थविंबगहवदवयणे हे प्रतिहस्तविंबगहपतिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज तज भत्तारं भत्तारं ॥
§ ॐ सत्तवीसंजोषण शब्दने चन्द्रः । तस्य कराणां प्रसरः चंद्रकरप्रसरः ॥ ॥ ॐ प्रतिहस्त
तिस्सतं विंबं मंडलं यस्य स प्रतिहस्तविंबः । प्रतिहस्तविंबो गहपतिश्च चंद्रः इति बोधार्थं ॥
॥ ॐ ग्रामेभ्यः । गुरुभ्यः । धेनुभ्यः । नदीभ्यः । द्वाभ्यां । विभ्यः ॥ ** ॐ दोहं । द्वि अग्रे सुप्
(see ii, 12) । वर्गाद् अवयं (iii, 5 दि-सुप्) । खरोऽग्यो (ii, 4 दोसुप्) । अदागमो
(ii, 11 दोह) । अनुखरो (ii, 15 दोह) ॥ †† ॐ वेहं । द्वि अग्रे सुप् (see ii, 12) ।
वयो (iii, 8 विसुप्; sig 1) । खरो (ii, 4 वेसुप्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 वेसु) । अनुखरो
(ii, 15 वेह) ॥ ‡ ॐ दयोः ॥ विष्णु ॥

(१) D इक्षरिपउरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीस c. m. (३) D जोयण ॥ (४) D चच्छं,
D विंव ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिष्ठन्ति, C om. (७) C om. (८) D तुम्हे and
अन्हे ॥ (९) C om. (१०) D गुरुहिता ॥ (११) D वे ॥ (१२) D ताहिता ॥ (१३) C
वे ॥ (१४) D वु ॥ (१५) D मधुणं ॥

अन्धाणं अन्धाहं* । (१) एमो अरहंताणं । एमो सिद्धाणं । (२) एमो
आदरियाणं । (३) एमो उवज्झायाणं ॥ । एमो लोए सव्वसङ्गणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

भवति ॥ दोहं वेहं^(४) । तिहं । चउहं ॥

SUTRA I, 6a. ON PAGE 5.

॥ ० ॥ टा णः ॥ ३ ॥

लिंगात् परस् टा इत्यस्य^(५) ए आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा ।
मज्झणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5.

गामेहिं ॥ **गुरुहिं^(७) । एरुहिं । तुहेहिं^(८) । अहेहिं । ††दोहिं^(९) वेहिं ।
तीहिं ॥

* ० नदीनां । गुरुणां । बुद्धीनां । मधूनां । अस्माकं ॥ † ० एमो अरहंताणं नमोऽर्हंताः ।
नमोऽर्हंत् (१०) चतुर्थी बहुवचनम् अये भ्यस् । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 एमः अर्हन्) । एदोऽर्हं (ii,
10 एमस्यो अर्हन्) । खरोणां० (ii, 1 एमो अर्हन्) । वर्षविक्षेपं कृत्वा र्हं इत्य् अस्य र्च इति
स्थितं । संयोगस्य० (iii, 30 एमो अर्हन्त्) । अनुसारा० (ii, 15 एमो अर्हन्त्) । अदा-
गमो० (ii, 11 एमो अर्हन्त्) । षष्ठीवच्० (ii, 13) । सागमस्या० (ii, 5 एमो अर्हन्ताण) ।
खरो० (ii, 4 एमो अर्हन्ताण) । अनुसारा० (ii, 15 एमो अर्हन्ताणं) ॥ ‡ ० सिद्धाणं ।
सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ § ० आदरियाणं आचार्येभ्यः । आचार्य । कर्मचज्० (iii, 34 आचार्य) । खरो०
(iii, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (आदर्य) । वर्षविक्षेपं कृत्वा संयोगस्य० (iii, 30
आदरिय) । खरो० (ii, 4 आदरिया) । आस अस्य एः (i, 5 आदरियाण) । अनुसारा० (ii,
15 आदरियाणं) ॥ ॥ ० उवज्झायाणं उपाध्यायेभ्यः । उपाध्याय । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12
उर्वाध्याय) । वर्गादु० (iii, 5 उवाधाय) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 उवाभाय) । लोपे० (iii, 24)
तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उवाभाय) । ऋसत्त्वं० (ii, 3 उवज्झाय) । खरो० (ii, 4 उवज्झाया) ।
आमो एः (i, 5 उवज्झायाण) । अनुसारा० (ii, 15 उवज्झायाणं) । उवज्झायाणं सिद्धं ॥
॥ ० नमो लोके सर्वसाधुभ्यः ॥ ** ० गुरुभिः । नदीभिः । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः । द्वाभ्यां ।
चिभिः ॥ †† ० दोहिं । द्वि अये भ्या । द्विवयणे बहुवयणं (sic) ज्ञेयं (ii, 12 द्वि-भिस्) ।
वर्गादु० (iii, 5 दिभिस्) । खरो० (ii, 4 दोभिस्) । हिं भिस् (i, 7 दोहिं) ॥

(१) C adds एमो अरहंताणं । एमो अरहंताणं ॥ (२) C adds एमो आदरियाणं ॥
(३) C adds एमो उवज्झायाणं ॥ (४) C वे० ॥ (५) D reads only एो for इत्यं ए
आद० ॥ (६) D om. (७) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुहेहिं and अहेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहिं
दोहिं । वेहिं वेहिं । तीहिं तीहिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थी बहुवचनम् ॥

SUTRA I, 10^a. ON PAGE 6.॥ 10^a ॥ द्विचिश्चिद्वाभ्यां असश्चोर् णिः ॥ १०^अ ॥दुष्णि विष्णि दुवे* दो वे । तिष्णि^(१) । ^(२) एवं शसोऽपि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.

शोहा ॥ ^(३) चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य डसः द्वित्सकार एव
भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SUTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra : तं तुं^(४) वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

TO SUTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra : अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

TO SUTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.

निष्कृते ॥ ^(५) तुहेहिंते अन्हे^(६) धिडा^(७) । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥SUTRAS I, 25^a, 25^b. ON PAGE 11.॥ 25^a ॥ तुहम् आमि ॥ २५^अ ॥युष्मदः आमि परे तुहम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुहं चियां ते
गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥॥ 25^b ॥ तद् डो ॥ २५^ब ॥सविभक्तेः ॥ तद्^(८) । तुहम् ॥ तुहेसु^(९) ॥

* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा दुवौ इति स्थितौ । संयोगस्येष्टं (iii, 30) इत्यनेन च
प्रत्यय आगतः (दुवौ) । सरोः (ii, 4) इत्यनेन वै इत्यस्य वे भवति (दुवे) ॥ † C चिय ।
एवार्थे षट्-चिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् लयि सिद्धरूपं । वर्गाद् (iii, 5 तयि) ।
कमचञ्जं (iii, 34 तद्) । तद् सिद्धं ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदोः (iii, 17 तुष्मद्) । रश्मणां
सः (iii, 18 तुष्मद्) । वर्गो (iii, 3 तुम्) । शश्चोर् (iii, 23 तुहद्) । अदागसोः (ii, 11)
इत्यनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुह) । एमि डेः (i, 14 तुहमि) ॥

(१) D places तिष्णि after एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुष्णि, etc., instead of
the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads अकारात्, om. किं; C om. the whole of
this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss; D gives it as part
of the text. (४) C तु । (५) D तुहे । (६) D अन्हे । (७) C धिडा ॥ (८) C
om. (९) Here follows sūtra ii, 26 (see p. 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26^a—26^d. ON PAGE 11.॥ 26^a ॥ हं हं अहं^(१) सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ २६^a ॥

अस्मदः सौ परे हं^(१) हं अहं एते^(२) आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः^(३) ॥
 (५) हं सौ एते^(४) । तेण हं विद्धे । अहं कयपणामो* ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ अन्हे जसि ॥ २६^b ॥

अस्मदो जसि परे अन्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अन्हे मणुस्सा^(७) सूर। वयं
 मनुव्याः शूराः^(८) ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६^c ॥

अस्मदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः^(९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां
 पश्य ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ अन्हे शसि^(१०) ॥ २६^d ॥

अस्मदः शसि^(१०) परे अन्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः^(११) ॥ अन्हे पेच्छ । अस्मान्
 पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31^a. ON PAGE 12.॥ 31^a ॥ (१२) मद ऊँ ॥ ३१^a ॥(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ मद^(१२) । अन्हमि^(१३) ॥ (१४) अन्हेसु^(१५) ॥

* C कयपणामो कृतप्रणामः ॥ † C मद । मयि । कयचज० (iii, 34) इति मद सिद्धं ॥

(१) C places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D हं ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D place सवि०
 before सौ ॥ (५) D अहं ॥ (६) D नरो ॥ (७) C माणुस्सा ॥ (८) C सूर। ॥ (९) C
 D place सवि० before अमि ॥ (१०) D शसि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before
 शसि ॥ (१२) C om. sūtra. (१३) D मद ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) Here follows sūtra
 ii, 27 (see p. 22) in C D.

TO SUTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.

रिषं ॥ ऋद्धिः^(१) इद्धी^(२) । वृषभः वसहो *उसहो^(३) रिमहो ॥ वृहस्पति-
 शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवन्ति ॥ मित्रस्सर्द् भुत्रस्सर्द् भयस्सर्द्^(४) ।
 विहस्सर्द् वुहस्सर्द् वहस्सर्द् । मित्रप्फर्द् भुत्रप्फर्द् भयप्फर्द्^(५) ।
 विहप्फर्द्^(६) वुहप्फर्द् वहप्फर्द् । मित्रप्पर्द्^(७) भुत्रप्पर्द् भयप्पर्द्^(८) ।
 विहप्पर्द् वुहप्पर्द् वहप्पर्द्^(९) ॥ सदृक् वर्षः सरिवृषो । सदृक् रूपः
 सरिरूवो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृक्षः सरिच्छो । एतादृशः एत्रा-
 रिमो । भवादृशः भवारिमो । यादृशः जारिमो । तादृशः तारिमो ।
 कौवृशः केरिमो । ईदृशः^(१०) एलिसो^(११) । अन्यादृशः अणारिमो ।
 अस्मादृशः अन्धारिमो । एस्मादृशः तुन्धारिमो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9. ON PAGE 16.

कडला ॥ सौधं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.

भरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

* C वृषभः । खरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन वृ इत्यस्य वु (वृषभः) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन
 वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (उषभः) । रशषा० (iii, 18 उसभः) । हो० (iii, 18 उसहः) ।
 एदोद्र० (ii, 10 उसहो) । खराणां (ii, 1 उसहो) ॥ † C वृहस्पतिः । खरा० (ii, 5
 विह०) । पवयोर्० (iii, 22 पिह०) । प्रथम० (iii, 11 पिह०) । पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11
 मिह०) । हकारस्य खरास्य विक्षेपे छते हृष इति स्थितं (मिहृष०) । अदागमो० (ii, 11)
 इत्यनेन हलोपः (मिष०) । श्वलोभ्यो० (iii, 2 मिषसतिः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 मिषसतिः) ।
 कगचज० (iii, 34 मिषसर्द्) । खरो० (ii, 4 मिषसर्द्) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 मिषसर्द्) ।
 मिषसर्द् इति सिद्धं ॥ † C सदृक्वर्णः । खरा० (ii, 5 सदृक्) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16
 सदृक्) । मउहा० (iii, 21 सलिक्) । रलघोर्० (iii, 22^a सरिक्) । अदागमो० (ii,
 11 सरिवृषः) । रेफ० (iii, 9 सरिवृषः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 सरिवृषः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10
 सरिवृषो) । खराणां (ii, 1 सरिवृषो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । अदागमः ॥

(१) C ऋद्धि, D इद्धी ॥ (२) C इद्धी, D इद्धी ॥ (३) D om. (४) C places this after
 वृहस्सर्द् ॥ (५) C places this after वुहप्फर्द् ॥ (६) D places this after वुहप्फर्द् ॥
 (७) D has again फ in the following forms, instead of प ॥ (८) C places this
 after वुहप्पर्द् ॥ (९) D repeats वहप्पर्द् ॥ (१०) D एदृशः ॥ (११) So both C D.

कर्म ॥ सम्यक्^(१) सम^(२) । इषत्^(३) ईसं ॥

सिरे० ॥ सिराण* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12. ON PAGE 17.

Commentary: सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं बद्ध० ॥

दंभ० ॥ णियणा । सोहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13^a, 13^b. ON PAGE 17.

॥ 13^a ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^b ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः । चउवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्थयरा^(४) मे पसीअंतु ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ सप्तम्यास् द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^c ॥

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं । तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये^(५) ॥

SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतस्म्यद्याः ॥ १४ ॥

सुता वर्णाः उकारनकारञकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ श्लोकः ।

ऐ औ खरौ ततः पश्चात् ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ चतुःस्वराः ।

ऐअः-उअनशष्पाः^(६) सन्ति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

* C शिरस् । (शिरसां) ॥ † C नयने । शोभने ॥ ‡ C ऐऔ खरौ० । गाथा(१) ।

तेजोस विज्जणाइं सच्चवीसा सरा तच्चा भणिया ।

चत्तारि य जोगवद्दा चउसट्ठी(७) मूलवणा ओ ॥ १ ॥

हयवरल । जणनडम । भट्ठघघम । जडदगव । कटथखफ(८) । चटतकप । शषस ॥ २३ ॥

अआआः । इईईः । उऊऊः । ऋॠॠः । ऌॡॡः । एएएः ऐऐऐः । औऔऔः ॥ २७ ॥

श्रुःप्यःअंअः(९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्णा भवन्ति संस्कृते(११) । प्राकृते ५२ भवन्ति ॥ ओ इति

संवाधने(१२) ॥ § C अः इति विसर्जनीयः । (१३) अकार उच्चारणार्थः । कुमारीस्सनयुगला-

कृतिर् वर्षो विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । शृंगवद् बालवत्स्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवन्नेत्रवत् छण्यसर्पस्य

(१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

(१) C om. (२) B रसं ॥ (३) C om., D इषत् ॥ (४) D तित्थयरा ॥ (५) See Bhagavatī (ed. Weber) p. 260, Kalpasūtra (ed. Jacobi) p. 33. (६) C अःउःअं० ॥

(७) C ०सट्ठी ॥ (८) खफकटथ ॥ (९) MS. indistinct, व्यः for अः ॥ (१०) C ॥ ६६ ॥

(११) C reverses प्राकृते संस्कृते ॥ (१२) See H. C. ii, 203, 199. (१३) C अका,

om. र ॥ (१४) C विसर्गा । यमिति० ॥

TO SUTRA II, 15. ON PAGE 18.

प्रकृतिः ॥ कचिद् अर्द्धानुस्वारोऽपि भवति ॥

सङ्कृतं ॥ सङ्कारो* । वीसा । तीसा । लोप ॥

भङ्गो ॥ देवेहिं । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहि । लोप ॥ देवेहिं । (अर्द्धानुस्वार^(१)) ॥

SUTRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

॥ 19 ॥ तु ता चा हु चुं त्वण तुआण ओ वि प्पिणु वेप्पिणु पूर्व० ॥ १३ ॥

भोचूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्पिणु^(२) । पणवेप्पिणु ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.

फडिल्लो ॥ श्लोक^(३) ।

(४)वतोर् मतोर् (५)इल्ल उल्ल आल आलू इरा मणः ।

वत्तो मामत्त इत्ताश्^(६) च यथा लच्छं दश^(७) स्रताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिल्लो । विकारवान् विआरुल्लो । अद्धावान् सद्धालो । खेह्वान्
 णेह्वालू । गर्व्ववान् गव्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवत्तो । हनुमान् हणुमा
 हणुमत्तो । पुण्ववान् पुण्वमत्तो । मानवान् माणइत्तो^(८) । काव्यवान्
 कव्वइत्तो^(९) ॥ तच भवेऽपि इल्ल उल्लो ॥ ग्रामे भवः गामिल्लो । पुरे भवः
 पुरिल्लो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्टः^(९) । अधः स्थाने हेट्टादेशो^(९) भवति ।
 हेट्टिल्लो^(९) ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिल्लो । आत्मनि भवः अपुल्लो ॥

SUTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

॥ 21 ॥ ता ताव जा जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

* C संस्कारः ॥

(१) C D om. (२) D वं० ॥ (३) C om. (४) C reads वतोः स्थाने इल्ल०, and makes it to be a new sūtra. (५) D reads अल्ल for आल ॥ (६) C D इत्ताश् ॥
 (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus इल्ल१ उल्ल२, etc.; C superscribes them, thus इल्ल^१ उल्ल^२, etc. (८) D इत्तो ॥ (९) C हेट्ट, हेट्टा०, हेट्टि० ॥

तावच् कब्दस्य यावच् कब्दस्य तु तातावौ जाजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा । etc.

TO SUTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलज्जप्रपयत्याणं तग्गुणमुल्लं हवेद सव्वेमिं ।

कुद्धिअतिसिआण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं अमुल्लं खु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ मे सुणु । त्वं ग्रहणु ॥

निश्चम्यत ॥ मे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

कृतं ॥ मे कयं युष्माभिः कृतं । मे अहं णिक्किट्ठो^(१) त्वं अहं निःकट्ठः ।

मे अहं सूररो युष्मद् अहं सूररः^(२) । मे देसे तव देशः । मे देसे

युष्माकं देशः । मे णिहिदं त्वयि निहितं । मे णिहिदं युष्मासु

निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ मे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27^a—27ⁱ. ON PAGE 22.

॥ 27^a ॥ इजेराः पाहूपूरणे^(१) ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ 27^b ॥ जि अथयं एवार्थं ॥ २७^b ॥

॥ 27^c ॥ एवरि आणंतयार्थं^(२) ॥ २७^c ॥

॥ 27^d ॥ एवर केवलार्थं^(३) ॥ २७^d ॥

॥ 27^e ॥ चदेः कुडु^(४) ॥ २७^e ॥

* C गुरुलज्जपदार्थानां तद्गुणमौल्यं भवति सर्वेषां । कुपितवपितानां भोज्यं जलपानं (तद्) अमौल्यं (खलु) ॥

(१) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (२) C D सूररः ॥ (३) See H. C. II, 217. (४) See H. C. II, 188.

(५) See H. C. II, 187. (६) See H. C. IV, 422, 19.

॥ २७^a ॥ धूयू द्विक् कुत्सायां ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ २७^b ॥ दडबड^(१) शीघ्राय ॥ २७^b ॥

* दडबड^(१) होइ विहाण ॥

॥ २७^b ॥ अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्येतस्ततो गमने डवडव ॥ २७^b ॥

डवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ २७^c ॥ णं एउ एाहं एावड^(२) जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे^(३) ॥ २७^c ॥

(४)मिव पिव विव व्य व विअ इवार्थे वा भवन्ति ॥

॥ २७^d ॥ दाणिं एहिं^(५) एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७^d ॥

॥ २७^e ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमतिमौ ॥ २७^e ॥

दोहा^(६) ।

†कालु लहेविण जोइया^(७) जिम जिम मोऊ^(८) गलेइ ।

(९)तिम तिम दंसण^(१०) लहइ जो^(११) णियमे^(१२) अण्णु^(१३) मुण्णेइ ॥१॥

SUTRA II, 29^a.

॥ २९^a ॥ जो डः ॥ २९^a ॥

* C शीघ्रं (भवति) विभातं ॥ (दोहा) ।

ढोला मइ^(१४) तुऊं^(१५) वारिथा मा कुर दीहा माणु ।

णिइए^(१५) गमिही रत्तडौ दडबड^(१) होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

मानं प्राप्तं नायकं प्रति काचिन् नायिका प्रःह^(१६) । ढोला हे नायक मया त्वं वारितः दीहा दीर्घं मानं दर्प्यं मा कुर । निद्रया रात्रिर् गमिष्यति । दडबड^(१) शीघ्रं विभातं प्रभातं चेइ^(१७) (भवति) ॥ † C कालं (लब्धा जायायाः) यथा यथा मोहः गलति । तथा तथा दर्शनं लभते (यावत् नियमेन) आत्मानं (मन्यते) ॥

(१) C दडबड ॥ (२) D एावड ॥ (३) See H. C. IV, 444. (४) C om. the com-
mentary. (५) D एवहिं ॥ (६) C om., D गाथा ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D
मोह ॥ (९) D तिमि तिमि ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जीवो, D जीउ ; both con. metr.
(१२) D णियमे ॥ (१३) D अण्णु c. m. (१४) C मइं तुऊं c. m. (१५) C णिइए ; here ए
is short, metri causa, = णिइइ ; see Vr. 5, 22. (१६) C नयका प्राहा ॥ (१७) C हो ॥

स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् नस्य प्रायो डो भवति ॥ संहननं ।
संहडणं संधडणं संहणणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 23.

रत्नं ॥ स्पष्टं फुडं । स्पष्टं^(१) पुट्टं^(२) । उक्तष्टं उक्किट्टं^(३) । नष्टः णट्टो^(४) ।
दुष्टः दुट्टो^(५) । सुष्टः सुट्टो^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

रक्ष्णी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अन्ता^(१) अत्ता । सर्वज्ञः
सव्वसू^(२) ॥ वेति किं । वच्मि वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भसलो ॥
हसो ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढुमो पढुमो पढमो पुढमो ॥
स्ती थी ॥

SUTRA III, 11^a.

॥ 11^a ॥ तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ ११^b ॥

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं
एकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः
वक्खो । घर्म्मः खम्मो । राजा राचा । जर्जरं चचरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो^(१) ।
निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः कच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं^(२) । मंडलं मंटलं ।
डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंडः संठो^(३) । ढक्का^(४) ठक्का । मदनः
मतनो^(५) । कंदर्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मथुरं ।
बंधवः पंथवो ॥

(१) D स्पष्टं ॥ (२) C °टं, D °ट्टं ॥ (३) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥ (४) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥
(५) D अत्त ॥ (६) C D सव्वसू ॥ (७) So C D, with द ॥ (८) So C D, with ड; but
in C corrected to ट ॥ (९) D संडो(?) ॥ (१०) D ढक्का(?) ॥ (११) So C D;
but C has a marginal correction in pencil रुतरो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.

पडि० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्तिः^(१) विहत्थी^(२) । वसतिः वसही ।
 भरतः भरहो । कातरः काहलो । मातुलिंगः^(३) माज्जलिंगो ।
 पापं पावं । पुत्रः विट्ठो । पुत्री विट्ठी^(४) ।

SUTRA III, 15^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 15^a ॥ पवचोरू जो वा ॥ १५^क ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ श्वरः^(५) सवरो समरो ।
 स्वप्नः^(५) सिविणो मिमिणो । नीवी^(५) णीवी णीमी । पूर्वः^(६) पुव्वो^(७)
 पुरिमेो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.

वृद्धो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वद्धमाणो । वृद्धः बुद्धो ॥
 ध्वं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जए । रुदितं रुषं ॥

SUTRA III, 17^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 17^a ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७^क ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सृजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सृजति
 वोसरइ ॥ यष्टिः लट्ठी^(८) । यष्टिका लट्ठिआ^(९) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.

नाजं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ (१०) करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणइ ॥
 वज्झो ॥ भगिणी । वह्निनी भइणी ॥

(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहत्थी ॥ (३) D °लिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्ठी ॥ (५) D om. (६) D पूर्वः ॥ (७) D पुव्वो ॥ (८) C लठी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C °टिआ, D °ट्ठिआ ॥ (१०) C om. this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28.

जिज्ञा ॥ वडमुखं^(१) वलमुहं । गरुडः^(२) गरुलो । तडागः तलात्रो^(३) ।
क्रीडति कीलद^(४) । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22^a. ON PAGE 28.

॥ २२ ॥ पवयोर व्यत्सासः ॥ २२ ॥

पवयोर व्यत्सासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ २२^a ॥ रलयोर व्यत्सासः ॥ २२^a ॥

पर्यंकः । etc.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जम्हा ॥ कस्मात् कम्हा । तस्मात् तम्हा^(५) । तस्मिन् तम्हि^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.

वरिषं ॥ श्री सिरि । द्वीः^(७) द्विरी । अर्हतं अरहतो । आचार्यः आय-
रित्रो^(८) । स्त्री इत्यी^(९) ॥

मदुमं ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लज्जवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुह्वी ।
(१०) बङ्गी (१०) बज्जवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया^(११) । स्याद्वादः
सिन्नावात्रो^(१२) । भव्यः भवित्रो^(१३) । (१४) श्वः कृतं सुवे कयं । स्वे
जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीआ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.

तेरह ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत्^(१५) तेतीसा । चयोविंशतिः^(१५) तेवीसा ॥

(१) D व० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तडाग ॥ (४) D कीलद ॥ (५) D तम्हा ॥ (६) D तस्मिन् ॥ (७) D द्वी ॥ (८) D रित्त्रि ॥ (९) D इत्यी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D वात्र ॥ (१३) D भवित्र ॥ (१४) D श्वः ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३४ ॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्^(१) ॥ ३४ ॥

स्वरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग्
भवति ॥ क^(२) । काकः काओ^(३) ॥ ग । नागः णाओ^(४) ॥ च । पिशाचः
पिसाओ^(५) ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिअं ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प ।
नूपुरं ऐउरं ॥ य । निखयः णिच्छओ^(६) ॥ व । देवः देओ^(७) ॥ अनादेर्
इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्टो^(८) ॥ कचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥
पुनः उणो^(९) । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उमहो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥
अर्कः^(१०) अक्को । चक्रं^(१०) चक्कं । कचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तं चरः एअंचरो ।
नमस्कारः एमोयारो एवयारो^(११) ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् कचिन् न भवति ॥
अपयः^(१२) सवहो । आपः^(१२) सावो । सकुसुमं^(१३) । प्रयागजलं^(१०) पयाग-
जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुत्तं^(१५) । विप्रयोगः विप्पजोओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३५ ॥ यत्नं अवर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्णोऽवर्णपरो यत्नं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

लक्ष्मी ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे^(१६) व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

पण्डितं ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । ^(१७)एषः एषे । ^(१७)मेघः^(१८) मेघे ॥

(१) See H. C. I, 177. (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc. (३) D काउ, and adds the following examples कोकिला कोइला । काको काई । प्रतिकूलः पडि-
जलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C
०टो, D ०हो ; D adds the Skr. परपुष्टः ॥ (९) D ओणो ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D adds
नवकारः ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C आपः (modern Hindi साप). (१४) C सकुसुमं ॥
(१५) C पजुत्तं ॥ (१६) D reads ०प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om. this example. (१८)
D मिष ॥

गाथा^(१) ।

(१) लहश्वशनमिलशुलशिलविश्रुतिदमंदाललाजिदं हिजुगे^(२) ।

वीरजिणे पक्वालदु मम^(३) शयलम् अवज्जजंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SŪTRA III, 39^a. ON PAGE 33.

॥ 39^a ॥ (१) शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य द्कारो वा भवति ॥ (२) दाव ताव । कदं

कयं । (३) गदं गयं । सुदं सुअं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः^(४) ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवाप्रभंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।

मागधी^(५) शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश्च प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ १ ॥

* Ed. रभस-वश-नक्ष-सुर-शिर-विगलित-संदार-राजितां हि-युगः ।

वीरजिनः प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् अवय-जंवालं ॥ १ ॥

(१) C om. (२) D लहश्व, C originally लहश्व, but corrected into लहश्व; also C D नमिथ, but in H. C. IV, 288 नमिल; also D विश्रुतिद ॥ (३) D भुगे ॥ (४) C D सयलम् ॥ (५) C D give no sūtra for this commentary; but add it as if it were part of sūtra 39. (६) D prefixes तावः (sic); see H. C. IV, 262. (७) C D read पदं पयं ॥ (८) C om. (९) C D सौ ॥

APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGE 3.

शम् ॥ गंगा । (१) तुम्हे रक्खउ^(२) । रक्खउ^(२) वो वः । (३) अम्हे रक्खउ^(२) ।
रक्खउ^(२) नो^(४) नः ॥

डसि ॥ (५) तस्सा तस्सा^(६) ॥

डम् ॥ (७) पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं^(८) ॥

डि ॥ गामे^(९) । कुले^(९) । तत्र^(१०) तत्थ^(११) । तस्मिं^(१२) तन्धि । त्वयि तयि ।
मयि^(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4. ON PAGE 15.

इंगाला ॥ (१४) विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्^(१५) तीसा । वल्ले^(१५) *वुच्छं^(१६) ।
(१७) वच्मि वेम्मि^(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५) संगटह्माति संगिण्हद^(१८) । क्वा कट्टु^(१९) । †नयनविह्वनं^(२०)
मुहं । निर्वार्यते^(२१) नीवारिअद्^(२२) ॥

* B ब्रुवे ॥ † C नयनविहीनं मुखं ॥

(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खओ ॥ (३) D अम्हे ॥ (४) C D णो ॥ (५) B तस्सा ॥
(६) B ताह; D adds यस्सा जस्सा जिस्सा । कस्सा; कस्सा किस्सा; and C D add गिरिणो
(see I, 12). (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्तो ॥ (८) C D add Skr. तव सुहं । मम सुहं ॥
(९) C D add गामस्मि and कुलस्मि ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D तत्थ ॥ (१२) B C D
तस्मिन्; the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तस्मि (or तस्मि ?) ।
तन्धि । तन्धि (or तन्धि ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तद् मद, D त्वयि तद् मयि मद, C only
तद् मद ॥ (१४) B om. this example (see iii, 32. ii, 15). (१५) B om. Skr. transla-
tion, but see the marginal gloss. (१६) D बुं ॥ (१७) D repeats वेम्मि ॥ (१८) B
संगिहद ॥ (१९) B कट्टु, D कट्ट (see ii, 19). (२०) B नद्वनं वळमुहं ॥ (२१) So B; C
D निवार्यते ॥ (२२) B निव्वा०, C D णीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 24.

भक्खरो ॥ कः करोति को करद । कः पचति को पयद^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्पा । तौत्तं तिण्ह^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जन्हा ॥ ^(२)कृष्णः कण्हो^(४) । योअः^(५) गिन्हो^(६) । ऊआ^(७) उन्हा^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24. ON PAGE 29.

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्को^(८) । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27. ON PAGE 30.

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । खर्गं सगं । स० स० ।

दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । नाव्यः^(९) नट्टो^(१०) । भुक्तं भुत्तं । धान्यं धन्नं^(११) ।सर्पः सप्पो । शुल्लं^(१२) सुल्लं । काव्यं कव्वं । ग्रस्यं सस्सं^(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

नाया ॥ पिशाचाः पिसाया । ^(१४)वनराजा वणराया । माता माया^(१५) ।यदा जया^(१६) । ^(१७)पापफलं पायहलं ॥ अवर्ष इति किं ॥ देवाःदेआ^(१७) । पिता^(१८) पिआ^(१९) । ^(२०)लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनंभुअणं । कचिद् भवत्य एव ॥ पिवति^(२१) पियद ॥

(१) B पचद् or पचद ? ॥ (२) B तौत्तं ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १२, p. 29 ; A C D place it before कृष्ण (see p. 29), but B after जन्हा ॥

(४) A कण्हो (see note १२, p. 29). (५) C D योअः ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मान् (see p. 29). (७) B D ऊआ ॥ (८) D शक्को ॥ (९) C D नाट्यं ॥ (१०) C D णट्टं ॥ (११) So B ; C D घस्यं ॥ (१२) Conjectural ; B has शुक्रः सुक्रः ; C D शुल्लं सुल्लं ॥ (१३) B सस्सं ॥ (१४) B om. this example. (१५) B adds शारदा सारया ॥ (१६) B adds अपकृतं अवक्यं (MS. अपकृतं अपचितं अवहितं (MS. अवचितं) ; then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देयाः ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १६. (१९) D पिआ ॥ (२०) B om. the remainder. (२१) C om.

I. INDEX OF SU'TRAS.

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	Manuscripts.			
			A	B	C	D
I, 1		सिद्धं प्राकृतं चेधा ॥	1	1	1	1
2		लिंगं च ॥	2	2	2	2
3		तस्मात् संकृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥	3	3	3	3
4		क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥	4	4	4	4
5		सागमस्य अण्य आमो णो हे वा ॥	5	5	5	5
6		संख्याया एहः ॥	6	6	6	6
	CD 6 ^a	टा एः ॥	—	—	7	7
7		हि भिसः ॥	7	7	8	8
8		हितो भ्यसः ॥	8	8	9	9
9		तृतीयादीनां एवं एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥	9	9	10	10
10		आडलोपा जश्शसोः ॥	10	10	11	11
	CD 10 ^a	द्वित्रिशब्दाभ्यां जश्शसोर् णिः ॥	—	—	12	12
11		पुंसि पूर्व्वत्वं ॥	11	11	13	13
	C 11 ^a	क्लृवे जश्शसोर् इं ॥	—	—	14	—
12		णो डःसेश् च ॥	12	12	15	14
13		स्त्रश् च डम्सः ॥	13	13	16	15
14		एन्मि डेः ॥	14	14	17	16
15		ए शसो ऽतः ॥	15	deest	18	17
16		तो तु हितो लोपास् तस्य आतः ॥	16	16	19	18
17		तद् इदमोः से षष्ठीरूपाणां ॥	17	17	20	19

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	A	B	C	D
18		युष्मदः ॥	18	18	21	20
19	C D	[तं तुं तुवं तुहं C D] तुमं सौ सवि- भक्तेः ॥	19	19	22	21
20	C D	अमि तुए [तुमं तं C D] च ॥	20	20	24	23
21		तुम्हे जसि ॥	21	21	23	22
22		तुम्हे शसि ॥	22	22	25	24
23		ते तुमे तद् तए टायां ॥	23	23	26	25
24		तुमाहिं तुमाहितो तुमातो तदत्तो पंचम्यां ॥	24	24	28	27
25		तुह्नुतुज्जुतुह्नु षष्ठ्यां ॥	25	25	29	28
	CD 25 ^a	तुह्नुम् अमि ॥	—	—	30	29
	CD 25 ^b	तद् डौ	—	—	31	30
26		अस्मदः ॥	26	26	33	32
	CD 26 ^a	हउं हं अहं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥	—	—	34	33
	CD 26 ^b	अन्हे जसि ॥	—	—	35	34
	CD 26 ^c	मम् अमि ॥	—	—	36	35
	CD 26 ^d	अन्हे शसि ॥	—	—	37	36
27		मे मए टायां ॥	27	27	38	37
28		मदत्तो डम्भौ ॥	28	28	39	38
29		अन्दाहितो भसि ॥	29	29	40	39
30		महमज्ज डसि ॥	30	30	41	40
31		अह्नुम् अमि ॥	31	31	42	41
	CD 31 ^a	मद् डौ	—	—	43	42

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
	D 1 ^a	संस्कृतवत् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥	—	—	—	1
1		खराणां खरे प्रकृति-लोप-संध्यः ॥	1	1	1	2
	D 1 ^b	खरस्य उद्धृते ॥	—	—	—	3
	D 1 ^c	न युवर्णस्य अस्वे ॥	—	—	—	4
2		संयोगपरे लोपः ॥	2	2	2	5
3		ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥	3	3	3	6
4		खरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥	4	4	4	7
5		खरा रि च चवर्णस्य ॥	5	5	5	8
6		एरैतः ॥	6	6	6	9
7		अद् च ॥	7	7	7	10
8		ओरैतः ॥	8	8	8	11
9		अउ च ॥	9	9	9	12
10		एद् ओद् र लोपा विमर्जनीयस्य ॥	10	10	10	13
11		अदागमोऽनुस्वर-लोपौ च व्यंजनस्य ॥	11	11	11	14
12		द्वित्वं बहुवने ॥	12	12	12	15
13		षष्ठीवच् चतुर्थी ॥	13	13	13	16
	CD 13 ^a	प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	14	17
	CD 13 ^b	सप्तम्यास् तृतीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	15	18
14	CD	न सुतङ्-[-न-CD]जाः ॥	14	14	16	19
15		अनुस्वारो बहुलं ॥	15	15	17	20
16		गोर् गावि ॥	16	16	18	21
17		एवार्थे णद् चेया-चियाः ॥	17	17	19	22
18		अथ-अस्योर्-अ-लोपः ॥	18	18	20	23

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
19	C D	नु ता चा हुं तुं ढण [ढाण C D] ओ [वि C D] [प्पि A B] [प्पिणु वेप्पिणु C D] पूर्वकालार्थे ॥	19	19	21	24
20		मल् अर्थे आल दल्लो ॥	20	20	22	25
	C D	तच्च भवेऽपि दल्ल उल्लो ॥				
	C D	अधो हेट्टः ॥				
21	C D	ता ताव [जा जावास् C D] तावद् [यावतोः C D] ॥	21	21	23	26
22		उपमाने पिव दव विव विथ व्व व जहा वतः ॥	22	22	24	27
23		ओलं अव अपयोः ॥	23	23	25	28
24		खलोः खुः ॥	24	24	26	29
25		तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥	25	25	27	30
26		भे सर्वासु युअदः ॥	26	26	I, 32	I, 31
27		असदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥	27	27	I, 44	I, 43
	C D 27 ^a	इजेराः पाद पूरणे ॥	—	—	28	31
	„ 27 ^b	जि अय्ययं एवार्थे ॥	—	—	29	32
	„ 27 ^c	एवरि अनंतर्थार्थे ॥	—	—	30	33
	„ 27 ^d	एवरु केवलार्थे ॥	—	—	31	34
	„ 27 ^e	यदेः कुडु ॥	—	—	32	35
	„ 27 ^f	यूथू किक्कि कुत्सार्या ॥	—	—	33	36
	„ 27 ^g	दडवड ग्रीघार्थे ॥	—	—	34	37
	„ 27 ^h	अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्य इतस्ततो गमने डवडव ॥	—	—	35	38

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
	CD 27 ^l	एं एण एणदं एणवद् जणि मणु इवार्ये ॥	27	27	36	39
	„ 27 ^k	दाणिं एणिहं एत्ताहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥	—	—	37	40
	„ 27 ⁱ	यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिम तिमौ ॥	—	—	38	41
28		इतेर् ईयः ॥	28	28	39	42
29		भावे त्तणः ॥	29	20	40	43
	CD 29 ^a	नो डः ॥	—	—	41	44

CHAPTER III.

1	हाद् यवौ लोप्यौ ॥	1	1	1	1
2	श्वलेभ्यो व्यंजनं ॥	2	2	2	2
3	वर्गे ॥	3	3	3	3
4	शे वर्गाद्यं ॥	4	4	4	4
5	वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥	5	5	5	5
6	शाच् च पंचमो वा ॥	6	6	6	6
7	दो वे वा ॥	7	7	7	7
8	षाट् टः ॥	8	8	8	8
9	रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥	9	9	9	9
10	असंयोगस्य ॥	10	10	—	—
11	प्रथमद्वितीययोर द्वितीयचतुर्थ्यौ ॥	11	11	10	10
CD 11	तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥	—	—	11	11
12	प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥	12	12	12	12
13	हो [A B ख] घघभानां ॥	13	13	13	13
14	सस्य खक्काः ॥	14	14	14	14

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III.	A	B	C	D
15		यस्य जः ॥	15	15	15	15
	CD 15 ^a	पवयोर मो वा ॥	—	—	16	16
16		तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥	16	16	17	17
17		युग्मदो यस्य तः ॥	17	17	1,27	1,26
	CD 17 ^a	जस्य रः ॥	—	—	18	18
18		रश्मिषाणां सः ॥	18	18	19	19
19		हजयानां रनखाः ॥	19	19	20	20
20		गरहाणां घण्टाः ॥	20	20	21	21
21		मडहानां वलभाः ॥	21	21	22	22
22	CD	यवयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ (CD पव० व्य०)	22	22	23	23
	CD 22 ^a	रलयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥	—	—	24	24
23		श्रद्धयोर् लोपे नणमानाम् अधो होऽप- दादौ स्थितानां ॥	23	23	25	25
24		लोपे द्वित्वं ॥	24	24	26	26
25		क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥	25	25	27	27
26		तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमह- तीयौ ॥	26	26	28	28
27		स एव अन्येषां ॥	27	27	29	29
28		न पदादौ ॥	28	28	30	30
29		क्वचिद् अन्यत्र अपि ॥	29	29	31	31
30		संयोगस्य दृष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥	30	30	32	32
31		यवयोर् इद् उत्तौ ॥	31	31	33	33
32		संख्यायास् तिश्योर् लोपः ॥	32	32	34	34

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III.	A	B	C	D
33		तस्य च ॥	33	33	35	35
34	C D	कहतीययोः स्तरे ॥ (C D कगचजत- दपयवां प्रायो लुक्)	34	34	36	36
35	C D	यत्वम् अवर्णे ॥ (C D य० अवर्णः)	35	35	37	37
36		शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥	36	36	38	38
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 (५) insert : C D prefix देवान् देवा, and in footnote (६) insert : C D prefix
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